

EASTERN WORLD

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KASHMIR ISSUE

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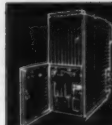
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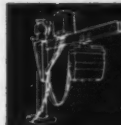
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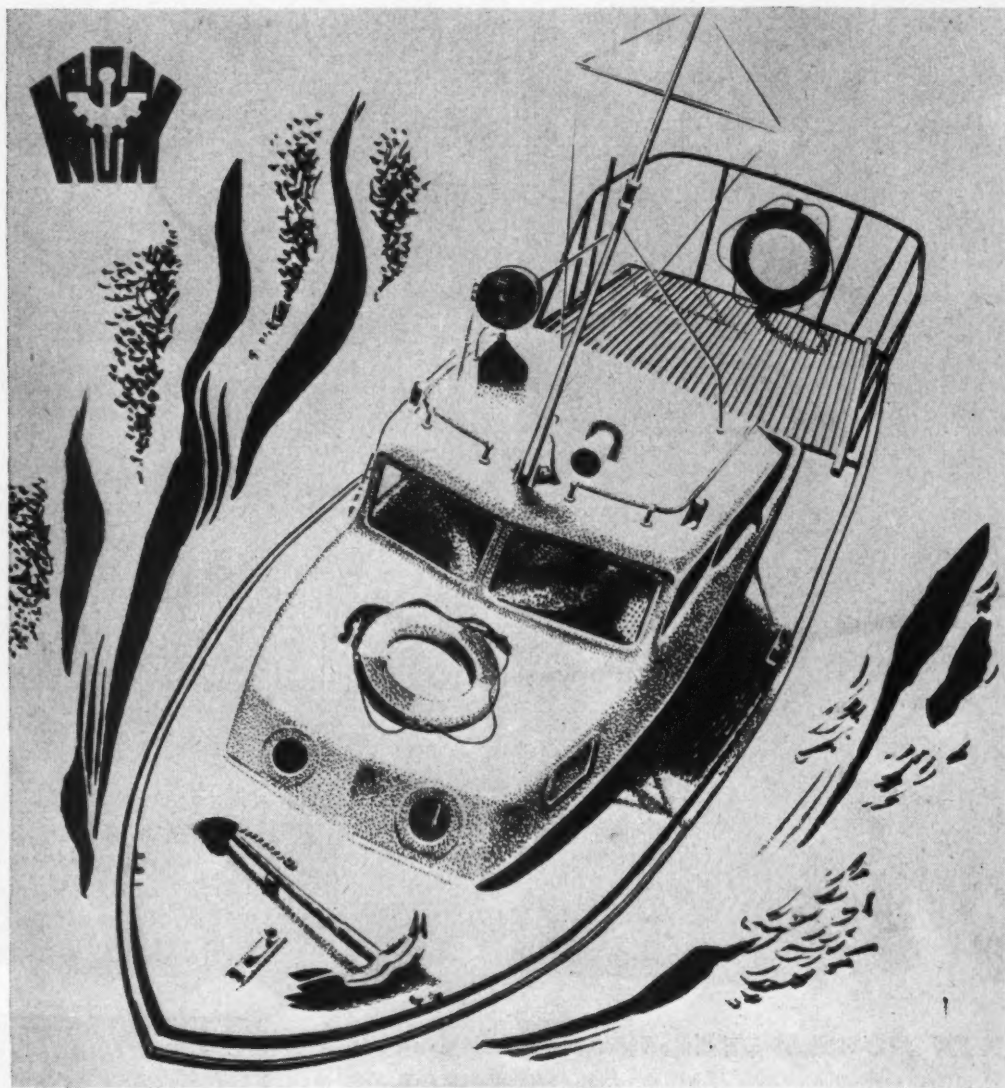


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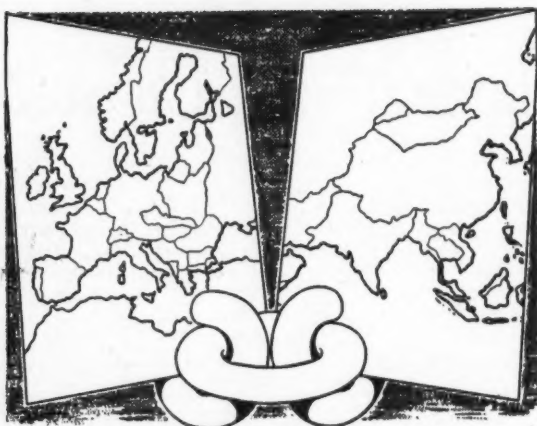
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Believing in the freedom of the press, this journal represents a forum where articles containing many different, and often controversial opinions are published. They do not necessarily express the views or policy of this paper.

EASTERN WORLD

London March 1957

THE KASHMIR ISSUE

HR. JARRING, the Swedish President of the Security Council, has gone to the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent with the vague task of trying to find a point of agreement between Delhi and Karachi on the Kashmir affair. He has undertaken the mission as a result of a Security Council resolution which says he must report back by April 15. It is not certain that he will accomplish anything at all; but there, as far as the United Nations is concerned, the matter rests for the moment.

Heightened feelings, however, still continue in both countries. Each claims, sometimes with solemn self righteousness, that its view of the moral and legal issues over Kashmir is the right and proper one. The other side is always the rapacious villain, while oneself is beyond reproach. Pakistan particularly has been suffering from a bad case of slipped halo.

Pakistan's sole case is that there should be a plebiscite. What is such a plebiscite supposed to decide? Would the people of the State be asked to choose between India and Pakistan? That would not be right, because the legal basis for such a choice does not exist. Kashmir has never been in a position where a choice of that nature has ever confronted it. The Maharaja acceded in 1947 to India, and however wrong Pakistanis believe that accession to have been, because the majority of the population is Muslim, or because Lord Mountbatten talked of letting the people decide, the fact is that Pakistan has no say, or should have no say, in Kashmir's affairs. Karachi might be right when it says that geographically, ethnically, and in other ways Kashmir would seem to fit easier into Pakistan, but if the wild and uncontrollable tribesmen from Pakistan territory had not fought their way into the State in the first place, Pakistan would not have been officially involved in the question of the State's future at all. And it would be as well for Pakistan to bear in mind that the present controversy concerns Kashmir, not Hyderabad or Junagadh, both of which have issues and circumstances of their own, not entirely analogous with the Kashmir affair.

What else could a plebiscite do? It could give the people the misleading choice of "India or not." It would be misleading because it would settle nothing. Nine years of Pakistan's dissentient voice over the Kashmir valleys has kept a tense situation alive that would doubtless have been swallowed up in the drive for progressive development in normal cir-

cumstances. Even if the conditions of India's agreement to a plebiscite were fulfilled — the withdrawal of all Pakistan troops, regular and irregular — a plebiscite now asking the people to decide for or against India would be impracticable, for in realistic terms it is not a clear cut issue of black and white. Many small factors could influence people one way or another — factors which have no basic relationship to the issue at stake. A plebiscite at the calmest of times is an unreliable way of moving towards the proper solution of a territorial problem; and in this case a great many people outside Pakistan deny that such a problem exists, except insofar as Pakistan has created one. And it is illusory to think of plebiscites as democratic.

Then there is the major consideration, certainly uppermost in Mr. Nehru's mind, of how a Kashmir plebiscite would affect communal feelings in both India and Pakistan. The secular policy of India has worked well, but this is not to say that religious feelings would not be aroused by some major upheaval. The Delhi Government has been sensitive in its attitude towards Muslims, and it views with alarm the possibilities of its good work being undone. Judging from the trend of India's internal policy there is every reason to hope that the Muslim population there will play an increasing part in the life of the country. Without religious antagonism kept at high tension, as it is by the Kashmir issue, communalism ought not to be much of a problem in India within a decade.

Indian-held Kashmir is not a model of democratic practice, as has been said before in these columns, but under the upset conditions prevailing there no one would expect it to be. Next month there are to be elections there, conducted under the eyes of journalists and visitors from outside. Pakistan talks of hand-picked men being put up in the elections, but neutral observation does not bear this out. Could Karachi's preoccupation with Kashmir at this time be because they think the forthcoming elections might show that integration with India is not so widely opposed as everyone has been led to believe? Naturally there will be those in Kashmir who are in opposition to India, and this should show itself in the elections. This is as it should be under the reign of democracy. There is no way of telling if opposition to Pakistan exists in the other part of Kashmir because there have been no elections, and none are yet within sight, anywhere in West

Pakistan. Indeed, the only elections ever held in Pakistan in recent years, those in East Pakistan, showed a majority dissatisfied with the Federal regime.

Pakistan makes out a case which will seem plausible to many people. On page 25 of this issue we print the salient points of that case. The dispute affects other matters between India and Pakistan, such as the control of the headwaters of the rivers which flow into Pakistan territory. But this one instance serves only to underline with more emphasis the need for better relations between the two countries. There is, further, something in Karachi's complaint that since Partition India has carried out a policy of containment of Pakistan, that she has refused to countenance the existence of the Muslim State on the sub-continent, and looks towards the day when Pakistan will again be part of an undivided India. This feeling among Pakistanis may be exaggerated, but there is no denying that such an attitude by India is noticeable; it is one reason for the national inferiority complex under which Pakistan labours.

These intangible feelings have little to do with the Kashmir affair as such, but the general relationship between the countries is the reason why the present dispute has been projected into the international arena. Pakistan, in general terms, has allied herself with those pressures, forces, and ideas in the world that India, quite rightly, believes to be the wrong ones for developing, independent Asia to have anything to do with. There is a feeling among Indians, which is not far wrong, that Pakistan has been emboldened in putting her case about Kashmir because she has the backing of those elements who were opposed to India's stand on Suez. Pakistan knows

that India and Mr. Nehru have become unpopular among certain people in the world (it is still possible to hear ordinary misguided people in Britain disparaging Mr. Nehru for the stand India took over Suez), and there seemed no better time than the present to get popular backing for Pakistan's view on Kashmir.

Karachi has achieved its purpose, to some extent, especially with official views in Britain. Relations between Delhi and London have been under strain since Suez, and this has increased since Kashmir has hit the headlines. The political beliefs of the Conservative Government in Britain are obviously closer to Pakistan than they are to India. Indian annoyance at Britain's part in sponsoring the Security Council resolution on demilitarisation of Kashmir is understandable. Such action by Britain seemed to show that London was leaning more towards Pakistan in the dispute. The British Government's view was even at variance with that of its own High Commissioner in Delhi who supports India's stand on Kashmir.

Looking progressively and sensibly at the relative positions of India and Pakistan in the Asian framework, it would be unfortunate if British policy imparted a snub to Delhi. India presents the best hope of democracy in Asia. Pakistan does not, although, despite many difficulties, it has had chances to become so. The landlord and privileged classes that control Pakistan are among the worst stumbling blocks to Asian development. India's motives have been made plain over the past few years. She, like no country, is beyond reproach in some things, but no one would deny the importance of India's experiment in democracy. Why should she be doubted over Kashmir?

A PLAN FOR MALAYA

IT is only to be expected that the report of the Malayan Constitutional Commission (the Reid Commission) will not satisfy everyone in Malaya. Some of the recommendations are very bold and contain within them possible causes for dissatisfaction by both of the predominant races—the Malays and the Malayan Chinese.

The constitutional apparatus for the organisation of Parliament and Government in the Federation is as simple as it could have been made in the circumstances, but in one particular not all the members of the Commission (drawn from Pakistan, India, Australia and Britain) were in agreement. This was the way in which the second chamber of the Parliament, the Senate, was to be constituted. Indirect elections, with one third of the 33 members nominated by the head of State may suit the circumstances for a start, but it is likely to be much criticised once the democratic running of the new State gets into its stride. If the constitution of independent Malaya is to be a real democratic experiment, even in difficult circumstances, the second chamber must be no less democratically organised than the House of Representatives, whose 100 members are all to be elected. An American type of Senate is preferable to a system something like the British House of Lords.

The Commission has made a serious effort at safeguarding the rights of the three main races, Indian as well as Chinese and Malay, under the constitution. One of the greatest problems facing plural societies entering an era of genuine independence is to create a sense of nationhood. It takes time, and in Malaya where the racial issue is fundamental to most, if not all, internal problems, the feeling of being a homogeneous nation is not going to come easy. It is a welcome step forward that the Commission should have recognised the retarding effect that would have resulted from communal electorates, even as an initial and experimental step. Of course, it will mean that for some time more Malays than others will be enfranchised. This was one factor that obviously decided the Commission to take a forthright line, quite correctly, on the question of citizenship as it affects the Chinese.

The Malays have always been cautious about citizenship rights for Malayan Chinese for many reasons. The Chinese being an industrious and enterprising people with continuing connections with their far away spiritual homeland have seemed to Malays to constitute a future threat to the identity and character of Malaya. It has, nevertheless, to be realised that the Chinese are going to remain in Malaya, and to be-

come an integral part of the Malayan nation.

All Chinese, under the Commission's plan, who are born after the country becomes fully independent in August would automatically be citizens of Malaya. Those born in the Federation before independence need only to have lived there for five of the last seven years to acquire full rights. For those born outside, citizenship is also made easier. This aspect of the draft constitution is not going to be to the liking of many Malays, especially as the language qualification for citizenship is made simpler than it is now for Chinese and Tamil speakers.

The endorsement in the plan of the privileges enjoyed by Malays in matters of land ownership, civil service and other official posts is not entirely going to allay Malay misgivings, since the Commission recommends that such privileges come under review in fifteen years time. This is going to be a bone of contention, and one which is likely to arouse opposition from Malays. To them it is going to seem as if the privilege of the Malay race is to be progressively whittled away over the next decade and a half to the advantage of other races. But here the Commission and the Malays are thinking on different levels. The Commission evidently hopes that fifteen years will see the interests of the races giving way in a positive fashion to the interests of the nation, run by and for the well being of all Malaysians, no matter what their racial stock. Malays now seem to envisage thinking in racial terms at that time; and the reason they envisage it is because they think that the Chinese, being what they are, will also be guided by racial considerations in fifteen years from now—with the advantage of citizenship and franchise. These are the sort of prejudices and fears that the mere formulation of a constitution cannot provide answers for.

There are questionable details in the Commission's plan of a less obvious nature. By giving the Sultans constitutional security in the ownership of land, the activity of future Federation Governments may be restricted in organising schemes of development which may require the use of land. And it may conceivably cause trouble if, at any time, the Government wanted to turn its attention to reforms in the distribution of land and rubber plantations.

Comment

The Quiet Hustings

A Correspondent in New Delhi writes:

REPORTS from all the Indian States confirm the experience at the capital that the country is taking the election quietly. A fire in one of the engines of Mr. Nehru's plane, though happily without casualties, one or two rowdy scenes in remote areas of this vast country, and even the general feeling of bitterness against the West over the Kashmir issue, have failed to create any tension.

There are some 10,000 candidates in the field. Their agents, canvassers and active supporters, even at a conserva-

There is as yet no very clear picture in which direction the Federation Government is going to guide its economic development. The only certainty is that there is a shortage of money for undertakings on any reasonable scale. The British Government has not been generous in its help for independent Malaya's economy. Much more has been promised to Tunku Rahman for continuing military operations against the Communist terrorists in the jungle. Where is Malaya going to get the money or the help? There are the International Bank and the Colombo Plan, but the Bank may wish to wait a while to see how the Malaysians manage their affairs before providing a loan.

Although the economy of Malaya is a reasonably advanced one compared with others in South-East Asia, there are long term uncertainties, particularly in the competition from synthetic rubber and technological economies in the utilisation of tin. This is the sort of danger that faces all countries that only have one or two specialised products to offer. What Malaya will have to do is to lay plans for diversifying her economy, building up and expanding industry, and depend less on imports. Over and above this there is a lack of capital investment. The Government is trying to overcome this by encouraging investment from internal sources. There is something to be said for having Malayan money ploughed back into independent Malaya. Something like 231 million Malayan dollars are needed by 1960 to cover the shortcomings in capital outlay. This economic difficulty will no doubt lead the Government into implementing policies inductive to investment and expansion in the private sectors of the economy. There is no way at present of judging how successful the drive for internal investment will be. Much of the private money available for investment, and for putting in the Post Office Savings Bank, which the Government wants to encourage, rests in Chinese hands, and if they are led in any way to believe that the Malays are going to fight a rear-guard operation against the recommendations of the Reid Commission on the question of citizenship, the Chinese will not invest. Unless racial antagonism and suspicion can be overcome—although a solution seems remote at this time—Malaya's path to full nationhood is going to be far from smooth.

tive estimate, number some ten millions. They are using all the arts of mass campaigning known to the West. Mr. Nehru and other top Congress notabilities are tearing about the country in whistle-stop—or should one say jet-whistle?—tours. Lesser spokesmen of all parties have descended like locusts on the countryside with views and opinions about the campaign. Even the children are aware that something big and all-embracing is going on, and no one complains of apathy. But the atmosphere remains quiet and orderly.

One veteran foreign correspondent exclaimed with exasperation that people here would not recognise a revolution if they had just had one. They had de-throned Indian

princes by the hundred, dispossessed the landlords in their hundred of thousands, revolutionised Hindu social and religious practices, and even proclaimed themselves for Socialism—yet there was no fighting or disturbance. Everyone said this was all as it should be.

Nearly 194 million voters are now choosing their representatives, both from independent candidates and from the lists of the four parties contesting the Lok Sabha (House of the People). There are no essential differences between the contending parties. The country as a whole supports both the foreign policy and the economic activities of the Government under the Second Five-Year Plan. The basic issues on which Nehru and his Congress Party rule the country are almost unanimously agreed.

Hence the unique, and probably transitional, character of Indian democracy, which shares with the West the feature of having several political parties, and with the Communist countries that of one predominant party, the Congress Party, little short of a one-party dictatorship. The election is, therefore, concerned mainly with the selection of those individuals best suited to carry out the nationally agreed policies.

The same is true of the constituent States. Last November India, in place of the former 29 States, was re-divided into fourteen, based on the linguistic unities of the people. This finally undid the arbitrary division into administrative provinces under British rule. As a measure of re-drawing State boundaries it is unparalleled in the democratic world. With the exception of one State, Bombay, where two distinct language groups, Gujarati and Marathi, are to live together for at least five years more, all the State legislatures will henceforth be composed of linguistically homogeneous "nationalities."

As everywhere else, election issues that affect the immediate, personal interests of the voters can be found only in local issues. Thus, turning to the state elections, the Gujaratis are not happy to have no state of their own. The Sikhs feel their interests may be inadequately represented in the Punjab. In West Bengal and Kerala, unemployment is a pressing problem, and in Assam, the Nagas would like a state of their own. Some villagers in Orissa are bitter because they are being moved from valleys about to be turned into a lake, by dams under construction. In all the big towns there are complaints against the high cost of living. This means that the discredited old hands will have to give way to more promising candidates. The choice is wide, because unlike the Lok Sabha contest, 10 or more parties have put up candidates for the Legislative Assembly seats.

The Communist Party of India, though numerically too small to be able to challenge the supremacy of Congress, is universally expected to increase its total vote. In two States, West Bengal, the industrially most advanced, and Kerala, with a literacy of 80 percent, the highest in India, the Communist candidates are in fact expected to do better than the Congress nominees.

Mr. Nehru has largely succeeded in stealing the thunder of the Communist campaign, namely the demand to leave the Commonwealth. Though not committing himself or the Government either way, he has created the impression that the matter may be reviewed after the election by the new Cabinet. Daily, almost hourly, as he speaks at several election meetings every day, his attacks on British Tory policy sharpen, and he now accuses it bluntly of working to "weaken and destroy India over Kashmir."

The Praja Socialists, whose prestige in the country is lower than that of the Communists, present as their principal

claim the rather negative one that Nehru has not done enough to create a strong opposition, and thus to save India for democracy. This rather Alice-in-Wonderland argument suggests, in effect, that Mr. Nehru really ought to follow a few unpopular policies in order to give the opposition a chance! Few people here hope much from the Socialists, and whatever votes they get will probably come from two opposite sources, either dissatisfaction with individual Congress representatives, or distrust of the Communists as a responsibly acting body.

The fourth party, Jan Sangh, is a highly conservative, revivalist Hindu party. Most Indians regard it as an anachronism in secular India, and hope it will secure less than three percent of the poll. This would enable the Election Commission to disqualify it as a participant in later elections.

A kind of comic relief in the election is afforded by a couple of "American" candidates who oppose Mr. Nehru's foreign policy and the Five-Year Plans. This is a price the democracies have to pay. In view of the bitter feeling in the country against the West's attitude on Kashmir, it speaks well for the Indian people that such an unpopular stand is tolerated. Perhaps if these elements had a less derisory following, the tolerance might be somewhat less.

The active electorate amounts to half of India's population: all men and women over 21 are choosing the 494 members of the Lok Sabha, and 2,906 members of the State Legislative Assemblies. The Election Commission is independent of the administration, and assures complete freedom and secrecy of the poll. Polling ends on March 14, and the final results of this 19-day polling will be announced towards the end of March.

There is universal expectation that the election will result in a continuation of Congress and Nehru rule for another five years, but with the Communists in strength in one or two states. The effects on policy are likely to include greater verve in the execution of the Second Five-Year Plan, and an increased reserve towards Britain and America, though without necessarily leaning more towards the Soviet bloc—unless the West forces the pace.

New Look in Jakarta

PRESIDENT Sukarno's proposal to change the political organisation of his government has caused consternation in western capitals. His plan involves a curtailment of Indonesia's parliamentary democracy of the western type, since, in his opinion, this has been a contributory cause to Jakarta's continuing instability since its achievement of independence eleven years ago. Dr. Sukarno now proposes a coalition Cabinet of the principal political parties, and a policy-planning National Council, under the chairmanship of the President, composed of the various groups and sectional interests in the country. This Council, alongside the Parliament and Cabinet, which remain respectively the legislative and administrative bodies, will tend to become the chief policy-planning body.

The misgivings in Washington and London arise from three considerations, firstly, that there will be a high centralisation of power, next that parliamentary opposition may be rendered impotent, and finally that Communist participation in the Government seems certain. Yet close inspection suggests that these fears may be excessive. Both the United States itself, as laid down in the American constitution, and India's Congress rule in practice, are examples

of centralised power beside which President Sukarno's proposals appear modest enough. They have been made primarily to give some incentive to the leaders of all parties to accept responsibility rather than persist in unhelpful attempts to make all government unworkable. The spectacle of the quick-change Cabinets of France hardly provide an inspiring example for Indonesians to follow. Nor is it by any means a certainty yet that opposition parties will be unable to function or that Members of Parliament will be denied the means of differing with Cabinet measures.

As to Communist participation, it should be remembered that fears of Communism are not generally a major consideration in the politics of Asian countries. President Sukarno evidently sees no incompatibility between the principles of democracy and the demand that the Communist party, which polled six million votes in the election, should carry its share of responsibility. In this he is supported by wide non-Communist circles in the country.

If Indonesia had not accused the US of improper meddling in its internal affairs; if the American press had shown more understanding of Sukarno's "revolutionary" speeches in Moscow and Peking, following his independent neutralist line in Washington; and if the Afro-Asians in the United Nations had not so persistently backed the Indonesian claim to West Irian against the Netherlands—which is, after all, a member of NATO—then perhaps there might have been rather less apprehension in the western capitals.

Chinese Traveller

WHAT has been the effect of Mr. Chou En-lai's three-month tour which ended last month? In a marathon lap, the Prime Minister of China (who is also Foreign Minister) visited eight Asian and three European countries, seven of which were non-Communist and only four Communist. No doubt he has, on returning to Peking, given a report of his encounters and a profit-and-loss account affecting his country's interests. No doubt also, every foreign office worth its salt is making its own estimate of the journeyings of this Marco Polo in reverse.

Besides spreading the sunshine of *pancha shila* for his Asian and Bandung friends, he brought moral succour to his Soviet allies—by supporting Marxist orthodoxy, rebuking the western powers, setting the Poles ever so gently to rights, and arranging for generous help to the Hungarians. All this can be read in the published press reports and communiques. What has to be divined is the likely effects, immediate and long-range, of Mr. Chou's physical presence on the seashores of Ceylon and the frontiers of Hungary.

At Bandung, with nothing at all up his sleeve, Mr. Chou's skilful handling of awkward situations and abortive anti-Communist storms won him an admiring description as the "greatest operator" in diplomacy. Between Bandung and the western intervention against Egypt's nationalisation of the Suez Canal, China was successfully consolidating her position, and her reputation as a peaceful great nation. The Anglo-French blunder in attacking Egypt, followed by the propounding of the "Eisenhower doctrine" for the Middle East, opened new avenues of advance to China.

Volunteer pilots for the Canal were promised to Egypt, and large credits and gifts made to other countries. The western Powers should not be surprised if in the near future they see Mr. Chou standing beside President Nasser of

Egypt to oversee the passage of ships through a Suez Canal from which British influence has been eliminated.

In Ceylon, Mr. Chou hinted pretty strongly that China need no longer be in a hurry for United Nations membership. The boot seems now to be on the other foot: can the UN afford to do without China much longer? The universal presence of China is one of the new facts of life in power politics.

If the UN, under the influence of American foreign policy, continues to disregard the existence of this new Power, they may then find themselves faced with a rival combination of nations. Taking great strides in stability and self-assurance, and willingly rallying round China's example, the Asian and African nations are determined to plot their own path. They see less reason than ever why they should continue to submit to the western pressures inherent in the present Power relations within the UN.

Japanese Jig-Saw

THE new Japanese Prime Minister, Mr. Nobusuke Kishi, whom the American press has described as "much safer than Ishibashi," has expressed his intention soon to visit Mr. Nehru as well as President Eisenhower, in order to foster Japanese friendship with both these countries. In the current state of the relations between India and the West, Mr. Kishi's declaration, one of the earliest of his premiership, can only mean that he is nobody's rubber stamp.

Nor has there been any let-up in the Japanese demand for the stopping of Britain's H-bomb tests in the Pacific. The British Government's insistence on its right and determination to carry out the tests, coupled with soothing assurances that there will be no dangerous fall-out, has done little to soften Japanese objections. It is hard to feel convinced that it was really impossible to find some site farther from Japan, even supposing one accepts the need for Britain to assert in this way her great-Power status, her "membership of the club," as Professor Blackett described it, to which possession of nuclear weapons alone has now become the passport.

In stark contrast to the H-bomb controversy between the two countries is the Anglo-Japanese trade agreement signed in London in the last week of February. Though the agreement entails only a slight relaxation of import restriction on both sides, it foreshadows an increasing mutual accommodation.

Japanese diplomacy, based on trade-cum-politics, is entering India, too, in a cooperative mood. A Japanese delegation is now finalising arrangements for shipping 1,300,000 tons of Indian iron ore in the year 1957-58; this is part of a contract for 7.2 million tons in the next five years, beginning next month. Last year India bought 32,000 tons of steel—30 percent of Japan's total exports—and recently also took three million lb. of rayon at prices ten percent cheaper than the Italian product India has been taking. Japanese machine-builders are investigating on the spot how best they can take up India's favourable trade balance with their country.

The complexities of Japanese politics exclude the possibility that Japan can be regarded as a reliable opponent of the Communist bloc. The "pro-American" Kishi Government refuses to drop its claim to Okinawa; it is further prepared to agree to an exchange under suitable conditions of cultural delegations with China; and intends to increase trade with China, Russia and east European countries.

NORTH VIET NAM'S HEADACHES

By H. C. Taussig (Recently in Indo-China)

HAVING fought and won a popular war against the former colonial overlords, North Viet Nam now faces the task of administering its territory and of carrying out its programme of raising the living standard of its 13 million population. As it is a backward, underdeveloped, region this will be no easy achievement and serious difficulties are certain to be met. My recent visit has convinced me, however, that the regime has come to stay and that, if for nothing else but the general admiration for President Ho Chi Minh, the country will gradually overcome all its teething troubles. The disorders there, recently made much of in the American and South Vietnamese press, should not be taken too seriously as they are nothing else but the tail end of other, much graver unrest which rocked the country last autumn, and which since has petered out in a calm and orderly manner. In fact, it may have been a blessing in disguise, as it galvanised both leaders and public into correcting many mistakes.

The division of Viet Nam into two parts north and south of the 17th Parallel was meant, according to the Geneva Agreement of 1954, to be a temporary measure until general and free elections could be held on both sides of the demarcation line. It was only under those conditions that the victorious Vietnamese agreed to discontinue their military operations after Dien-Bien-Phu.

As is known, South Viet Nam, with the aid of American monetary and military aid, is repudiating the implementation of the Geneva Agreement under the excuse that she was not a party to that covenant, and that free elections would, in any case, be impossible under the present regime in the north.

After having visited the South Vietnamese part of the country some months ago, I was curious to see the Northern republic. This visit was the more interesting one insofar as, according to the Vietnamese nationalists living in the South, the North is the real, actual part of Viet Nam which won the victory over the French and which represents the national feelings of all Vietnamese. It is, of course, true that the North is receiving aid not only from the Soviet Union, but also from the whole Soviet bloc. There are, however, a number of important differences between that aid and the American assistance to the South. The North Vietnamese Army has retained its national tradition acquired during the years of jungle fighting, and aid received from the Communist bloc is of a limited character concentrated on specific projects only. In fact, I thought it was too small, and on the whole it is not disturbing or unduly influencing the nationalist character of the North Viet Nam Government. Even though the country, being of a social structure similar to the Chinese Communists (they even encourage a "capitalist" class), will toe the line of the Soviet bloc in foreign affairs, at least for the time being, it is internally quite master of its own affairs—and

problems. Its most precious asset is its leadership in the person of President Ho Chi Minh, the national hero of all Vietnamese, whose legendary fame is also, albeit not always openly, inspiring the hopes of the patriots in the South.

Bearing in mind this position, which not only indicates the character of its strictly nationalist aspect, but also its political commitment in the internal field, it is obviously impossible for North Viet Nam to admit or even suffer the idea that the division of the country may be more than of a temporary nature. This political consideration influences to a large extent their development, as any economic measure taken now could be considered an admission that the original economic structure of the whole undivided country may have to be revised, and that it may upset the economic balance of a future reunited Viet Nam. It will be recalled that, before partition, the South was the "rice bowl" whereas the North was regarded as the industrial part of the country where the modest number of French industrial enterprises was situated and where minerals, coal and industrial crops came from. Politically, therefore, North Viet Nam should really ignore any changes which would upset this economic equilibrium which is a powerful argument for the necessity of reunification of the country. Economically, however, it is clearly impossible for North Viet Nam to exist without carrying out drastic economic changes towards self-sufficiency. In addition, as a Communist State, it is forced to introduce a system which is different from that prevailing in the South, a fact which cannot be escaped, but which obviously complicates the issue of reunification. The latter consideration, though, may be balanced against the view that, if North Viet Nam succeeds in raising the living standard of its people by these socialist methods, it will possess an additional argument in its favour with the masses in the South.

After the battle of Dien-Bien-Phu, the North Vietnamese emerged from the forests poor, without qualified staff and without any means to build up an administration. Their currency was worth nothing, they were short of food, funds and experience. The industry which they had inherited from the French was inadequate and in any case depleted of all but the most antiquated machinery. North Viet Nam has made serious and successful efforts to get that industry going again, and though it is only noteworthy in relation to the rest of backward and agricultural Viet Nam, it is undoubtedly of the most vital importance to the country's development. They have managed to put the cement works at Haiphong into operation again as well as the small phosphate mill in that town and the valuable anthracite mines of Campha at the Bay d'Along. The real asset of the country lies not so much in its present industry, but in the still undeveloped treasures of its soil, which is known to contain more high-quality coal, copper, tin, 338 uranium, wolfram, tungsten,

iron ore and other minerals and which, according to geologists I spoke to, is almost certain to contain oil.

The country is now trying to balance its economy with the help of the Soviet Union and other socialist republics, but all its dealings with these countries are as close as it is possible on a strict commercial basis, mainly in exchange for cement and coal. I saw a considerable part of the country, including the port of Haiphong which, though small, gave the impression of great efficiency. Its 1,500 dockers and 6 wharves can accommodate only 6 ships of up to 8,000 tons at a time, but bigger vessels can be handled by lighterage. There is a weekly boat exchanging goods with Hong Kong, and British, French, Greek, Scandinavian and other ships are as frequently docking there as are vessels of the Communist countries. The open-face Campha mines, estimated to contain 200 million tons of high grade anthracite, are now producing at the rate of 980,000 tons a year, despite the lack of



Street scene, Hanoi

machinery. For the next 10 years 95,000 tons have to be paid to France yearly to pay for the mines by way of compensation, but if the country can obtain modern mining machinery and thus increase output still further, economic rehabilitation will have been brought an important step further.

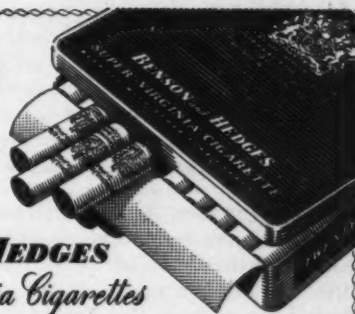
Wherever I went I found the country clean and full of activity. Serious efforts are being made to repair and clear the enormous damage caused by the war, and to construct additional industry. In the field of self-sufficiency, the most important factor was the food shortage which, immediately after the war, was only alleviated by the delivery of 2 million tons of rice which the Soviet Union procured for the country from Burma. Last year, however, enough rice was produced even to show a small surplus. Thus one of the main headaches of the North Vietnamese has been solved.

But the real problem of the country lies somewhere else. The first and most important step taken after liberation was the introduction of agrarian reform. A law to that effect had been promulgated even before the end of the war, in December 1953, with the aim of setting up a system of peasant land ownership. The law itself is a well thought-out document, full of social justice and an obvious answer to the worst

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sufferings of the peasantry. At least in theory. The snags began when it was put into practice, and it became evident that grave mistakes were made in its introduction and implementation.

Teams went out to introduce the agrarian reform, but according to their own admission, did not study local conditions in the villages and became thus responsible for the most serious, indeed, chaotic conditions all over the country. They wrongly classified peasants, handed over "landlords" to local "People's Courts" and thus caused grave injustices which eventually led to widespread dissatisfaction.

It may not have been easy to classify peasants into the accepted categories of poor, middle and rich peasants, and into small and big landlords. The general level of property was so appallingly low that some quite modest holdings appeared—in comparison with the average peasant's plot, or with the conditions of the landless peasant—as rich landlord's estates. Also, apart from the inexperienced class of arbitrators, the revolutionary atmosphere immediately after the war of liberation, was not conducive to fair and measured actions. One cannot even dismiss the thought that members of the lower strata of the party machine desired to provide some scapegoats for the Government's policy. But the fact remains that distribution of land was carried out unsatisfactorily, led to wrong assessment of taxes or expected yields, and eventually to some kind of village terror where the peasants let off their grievances, in many cases with all justification, against the "landlords." While some of the latter, as a result of a feudal and backward system, had undoubtedly been terrorising the peasantry, the "People's Courts" went in many cases too far. The landlords, or those classified as such, received in many instances a very harsh treatment. Many of them were executed, though figures as to their numbers are not available in Hanoi.

These serious mistakes of some of the political cadres became gradually known, and the accumulated protests against exorbitant tax demands based on wrong assessment and classification, finally brought the whole situation to light. Small protest meetings were followed by mass demonstrations, and protests were voiced at the same time against practices which had been taken over automatically from other Communist countries and which did not meet with the approval

✓ of the Vietnamese. Thus they voiced their dissatisfaction not only with the arbitrary execution of the agrarian reform—and the landlords—but they also protested vigorously against the general bureaucracy which threatened to paralyse the country, the undue power and influence of the police and, last but not least, against the too frequent compulsory meetings and parade which they found boring.

Once President Ho Chi Minh became aware of the true facts, he himself immediately took the lead in exposing and denouncing these mistakes. When, during an exclusive interview,* I asked him to explain how these mistakes had been possible, he said: "The French educated very few Vietnamese to do technical jobs. We also had hardly any administrative cadres. We have to learn while we work. As the English say, 'You have to throw people into the water to teach them how to swim.' Our mistakes are easy to understand for those reasons. Good political instructions lost their meaning as they wandered from the Central Government down step by step to village level. Only the letter remained,



The market at Bay d'Along

but not the spirit. Much got lost on the way. Of course, we committed serious mistakes. We acknowledge this, and decided to correct them and make good all the wrongs, as far as it is humanly possible."

The President openly regretted that "lives could not be restored," but his lead was followed and a veritable mass orgy of self-criticism started to sweep officialdom and the country's whole machinery was subjected to an enormous public investigation and reorganisation.

✓The political system of North Viet Nam is based on the Fatherland Front which, under the leadership of the Communist Lao Dong (Workers') Party, also includes the Socialist Party (mostly representing officials and intellectuals) and the Democratic Party (the organ of the well-to-do in business and of any rich peasants still remaining). The Fatherland Front took immediate action, first by insisting that those responsible for the main mistakes should resign their posts. In the course of this sweep a number of important personalities were

forced to leave their positions, amongst them Truong Chinh, the general secretary of the Lao Dong Party, Ho Viet Thang, the leading figure on the Central Land Reform Committee and Le Van Luong, the head of the Central Organisation Board in charge of "guiding and readjustment of organisations in the provinces."

✓The central committee of the Fatherland Front publicly recognised all the mistakes made, and called for "nationwide unity" in helping to correct these errors. President Ho Chi Minh himself, although already overburdened, took on the additional post of general secretary of the Lao Dong Party and the Government then proceeded to organise officially an overhaul of the administrative machine. In addition, the Council of Ministers promulgated drastic readjustments of the country's internal organisation. Among the main points of these policy directives, are the recognition of the National Assembly as the supreme administrative organ of the people, a revision of the legal system and a thorough repair of all the injustices committed. It has now been officially recognised that the National Assembly must be given greater democratic powers and that it must not function only as a rubber stamp to Party and Government decisions. Elections will, therefore, take place this year at all levels of government, thus increasing public control over the running of the State. The legal system will be revised in order to ensure the scrupulous application of the State laws, and the first immediate step in this direction was the abolishment of the so called "People's Tribunals."

✓Further, the Government ordered on November 8 last, the instantaneous release of all persons wrongly condemned, and all verdicts against them were quashed. Appropriate economic compensation will be paid to them in addition to any assistance they may need to earn their livelihood, and all civic rights, honours and positions had to be restored to those who lost them in the process of the now decried procedures. Also, the victims of wrong classification have to be compensated and placed back into their rightful status, while acreage and average yield estimated during land reform is being readjusted.

The Government also decreed that freedom of worship has to be strictly respected, that all property belonging to family temples and confiscated during the land reform, must be restored to its former owners.

These measures created immense satisfaction among the population and cleared the atmosphere so rapidly that the hold of the leaders of North Viet Nam over the people can be said to have been fortified rather than weakened. From what I have seen in the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, and particularly from my long discussion with President Ho Chi Minh, of whose sincerity and energetic determination to improve the overall conditions of his country I have no doubt, I believe that it will overcome its remaining difficulties, and that it will be self-sufficient and well run within two or three years, provided there will be no major conflict over the question of the reunification of Viet Nam as a whole.

* Published last month.

KOREA AND THE POWER STRUGGLE

By Yongjeung Kim

THE annual ritual over Korea's tragedy, performed this January by the United Nations General Assembly, again consigned that unhappy nation to the tempest of the East-West power struggle. The United States position, as usual, was endorsed by Latin American and British Commonwealth countries and a few small Asian nations. The USSR stand, as always, was backed by all Soviet-bloc countries. The compelling and constructive efforts of the larger Asian powers toward a Korean settlement were swept away by the swelling tide of cold war.

Most of the debate centred around a United States resolution which "Calls upon the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea [UNCURK] to continue its work in accordance with existing resolutions of the General Assembly and to observe and report on elections throughout Korea, and calls upon all States and authorities to facilitate this activity on the part of the Commission." The First Committee passed the resolution on January 8 by 57-8 (Soviet bloc) with 13 abstentions (Afghanistan, Burma, Ceylon, Egypt, Finland, India, Indonesia, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Syria, Yemen and Yugoslavia); and the full plenary session approved it on January 11 by 57-8 with 9 abstentions.

While such overwhelming endorsement outwardly would seem to enhance prospects for Korean unification, they are perhaps even more distant than last year. Voting was strictly on an East-West cold war basis with the major Asian powers dissenting. After the dust of debate settled there was obviously no victor, for the resolution is both impractical and impossible to implement. How can the UN Commission "observe and report on elections throughout Korea" without any prior arrangement to hold such elections? "How is it possible," asked Mr. A. B. Perera of Ceylon, "to observe and report on elections 'throughout Korea'—the words are used in the report and presumably, therefore, include North Korea—unless there is understanding with that section of the country, where as the fundamental approach has been that, because of the particular political philosophy which prevails in North Korea, it must always be outside the pale of civilisation?" (Only South Korea was invited to the debate.)

Much has hinged on the two "Geneva principles" of 1954 which the above-mentioned resolution endorsed and which the US delegation, for the third consecutive year, considered "the principal term of reference in approaching the Korean problem today." They are:

1. The United Nations, under its charter, is fully and rightfully empowered to take collective action to repel aggression, to restore peace and security, and to extend its good offices to seeking a peaceful settlement in Korea.
2. In order to establish a unified, independent, and democratic Korea, genuinely free elections should be held

under United Nations supervision, for representatives in the National Assembly, in which representation shall be in direct proportion to the indigenous population in Korea.

While the 15 UN member nations (plus South Korea) which fought in Korea did concur on these principles at Geneva, not all of them feel they provide the *only* basis for a settlement. Two of these countries, Belgium and France, were not inflexible even at Geneva, pointed out Indian delegate Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon during the General Assembly session: "It is now a long time after the war and the representative of Belgium in Geneva — the present Foreign Minister of Belgium — at the conclusion of his observations said: 'I believe that after a time, when the inevitable passions stirred up by the fighting and cruel war which has divided Korea have died down, the parties will be able to meet again and renew discussions together.' So one of the sixteen nations which went to war did not think there was anything immoral in the two parties getting together to renew the discussions. . . ."

Mr. Menon deemed "a wise approach" the following position the then French Foreign Minister took at Geneva: "For the moment, in the same conciliatory spirit of which it has already given ample proof in the course of the parallel negotiations over Indo-China, the French delegation lends its support in principle to the ideas already expressed here by one of our chairmen and which can be summarised as follows: (a) Korea should be unified within its historical frontiers, as a free, independent and democratic State; (b) for this purpose elections should be held throughout the whole Korean territory to set up a single and truly representative government for the whole of Korea; (c) the elections should be carried out in conditions of genuine freedom under international supervision; (d) the settlement of the Korean question should provide for the withdrawal of foreign troops; (e) once unification is achieved [this is an important paragraph] under proper conditions, the United Nations should be called on to give their approval to the settlement thus reached."

Moreover, Canadian delegate Dr. R. A. Mackay urged during the Assembly debate that the United Nations "not allow any unreasonable stubbornness to stand in the way of negotiations which might lead to a settlement," or be "so rigid" over "the means of achieving" the Geneva objectives. He observed that "The United Nations . . . did not fight in Korea to achieve . . . unification by force" but "for the declared purpose of repelling aggression. We are not therefore faced with a situation in which we can impose a settlement. The settlement will have to be negotiated just as the armistice was negotiated. Such negotiations are inevitably prolonged and frustrating, but we have had a remarkable degree of success in hammering out, under the aegis of the United Nations, agreements which have provided the framework for peaceful adjustments and eventual settlements. This

The writer is president of the Korean Affairs Institute in Washington, DC.

is the most honorable work of the United Nations — the process of conciliation and pacification — and we must not back away from it. If there is to be any hope of success, we must make it clear to all concerned that we shall seize any honorable opportunity of seeking a solution and that we are not forever bound by formulas which have been established in the past."

Although South Korea demanded abrogation of the Armistice Agreement and Thailand and the Philippines called for acceptance of the *status quo*, at the United Nations meeting, appeals for a new approach on Korea came from Burma and Ceylon. Mr. U Hla Pe of Burma recalled that his Government "supported the Security Council's action of 27 June 1950" (when Burma was "bitterly engaged in suppressing an internal armed Communist rebellion"), gave "in a most modest way our physical as well as our moral support" by shipping rice to Korea, and voted for the establishment of UNCURK. But "it is now six years later. . . . The question then becomes, how long do we in the United Nations continue in futility? Does it not seem reasonable that if certain measures have been tried for six years and have been found wanting, new measures should then be sought? Some representatives have said that we do not want the assistance of the aggressor to enable us to determine what we shall do. I have no quarrel with such a view provided that we show the flexibility and the ingenuity of finding solutions to these problems.

"Would it not be unwise for us to return to these annual

meetings of the General Assembly with unchanging adherence to previously fixed positions? I know that the members of this Committee would answer this question in the negative, for otherwise no progress would be made. May I cite but one most important change. Witness the presence of Japan among us today, a presence which my Government argued for long before we had a reparations and treaty agreement with Japan. . . . We believe most firmly that the objectives of the United Nations are to bring about by peaceful means the establishment of a unified, independent and democratic Korea under a representative form of government and the full restoration of international peace and security in the area. We believe, finally, that if a Commission of this body, which we helped to bring into existence, has not been a successful vehicle for our purposes, then it is time for us to seek a new approach which may be more successful."

Thus some important Asian nations, as well as staunch Allies of the West in North America and Europe, favour a new approach to the tragic Korean problem despite the impotence of the recent UN resolution. Would this spring not be a propitious time for the Great Powers of the West to initiate a conference on Korean unification? Since all Asia is concerned with peace and security in its neighbourhood, perhaps Afghanistan, Burma, Ceylon, India, Indonesia, Japan and Pakistan — whose combined population is over 660 million and whose voices cannot be ignored in the settlement of Asian problems — should participate in the negotiations, as well as those which fought in the war.

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Aspects of New Guinea-Papua Life

By Charles Meeking

ALTHOUGH the Australian Government is deeply conscious of its tasks of development in Papua and New Guinea, and aware that its policy towards the native peoples of the eastern end of the island is being watched closely in Asian countries, it does not encourage any great degree of Australian interest in the area. There is no restriction on business or tourist activities, but in general, business and commercial development is in the hands of those long familiar with the territory. The tourist traffic is limited, and there is no attempt to publicise the attractions by films or other media.

This is deliberate policy, because the present administration hopes to see the development of native responsibility without the pressure of too many influences. However, it is also policy to encourage the establishment and expansion of mission schools, despite the warnings that groups of sectarian allegiance may be sowing the seeds of future difficulties. The Government itself is unable to cope with the education problem in full, because of a shortage of funds and teachers. There is encouragement of native cooperatives, and of the growing of new crops and the planting of better types of trees and plants.

The meagre information about New Guinea which reaches the Australian public comes mostly through statements by the Minister for Territories, at present Mr. Paul Hasluck. Mostly these statements receive little publicity in Australia itself. Ex-servicemen who were in New Guinea during the war are keenly interested in the welfare of the island and in the experiments in progress to develop new products and to improve the old ones, but there are no associations of "Friends of New Guinea," and the Government would probably dislike any such activity.

There are announcements from time to time about native councils, but here again little or nothing is disclosed about any efforts to make the native peoples both politically conscious and more aware of the great world in which their island must take its place within a measurable period. Mr. Hasluck announced recently, for example, that there were now 13 local government councils, elected by the local native people, and usually comprising up to 60 villages with some 6000 people. Voters, he said, included all adult males, who had to pay a local tax fixed by the councils, and all youths and women who elected to pay the tax. The members of the council chose their own chairman, and there was no Government representation.

The tax provided first aid posts (health is still a major and unsolved problem), schools, water supply and general village improvements. The councils had thus considerable budget resources. They existed in areas of expanding economic activity, which in turn had been the main agent

for linking up village communities which formerly had neither the wish nor the need for common undertakings.

Another recent statement touched on the controversial question of language. It did not mention the discussion of pidgin, but declared that the teaching of English to the native people was "a major objective of the Government." Mr. Hasluck said there were several hundred distinct native languages, and although these were important in the day to day life of the people they were of no assistance as a means of communication with the wider world outside the immediate neighbourhood. "Consequently," he said, with perhaps more significance than he realised himself, "every effort is being made to teach the native people English so that they will have ready access to all that is involved in western civilisation."

He added that native languages were not being banned, but the Government was using "all possible means" (a vague term of which a definition would be informative) to bring literacy in English, with its resultant benefits to as many of the native people as possible. Native languages and pidgin were used as aids to that end.

One of the worst health problems is the high incidence of malaria, as elsewhere in the islands. It is a contributing factor in delaying full economic development, and if eradicated would, it is estimated, halve the infant mortality rate, double the expectation of life, and perhaps in 17 years double the population of the territory.

Mr. Hasluck has said that the vast task of malaria control is primarily a national problem calling for the full cooperation of all in the territory to combat the disease through environmental sanitation control. As a first step, malaria control assistants are organising local measures in various parts. Two pilot projects are about to begin with residual spraying of the chlorinated hydrocarbons, following the promising example of a similar project across the frontier in West New Guinea.

Primary production includes the encouragement of cash crops. The Minister says that the native production of copra, cocoa and coffee for export is expanding rapidly, and the growing of passion fruit and peanuts on a commercial scale is assuming importance.

Native villagers produce about 20,000 tons of copra annually, or about one-fifth of the total production of the territory. This represents a return of nearly £A1,500,000.

Such items of information are of value to those Australians and others who can visit the territory to see for themselves what is happening there, and who have access to the annual reports of the Administrator. Australians cannot remain largely indifferent for ever to the problems and progress of the large and rich area for which they are responsible. Some further efforts to increase their knowledge and understanding of the territory seem essential.

CEYLON IN THE NEW WORLD

An Exclusive Interview with S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, Prime Minister of Ceylon

By H. C. Taussig

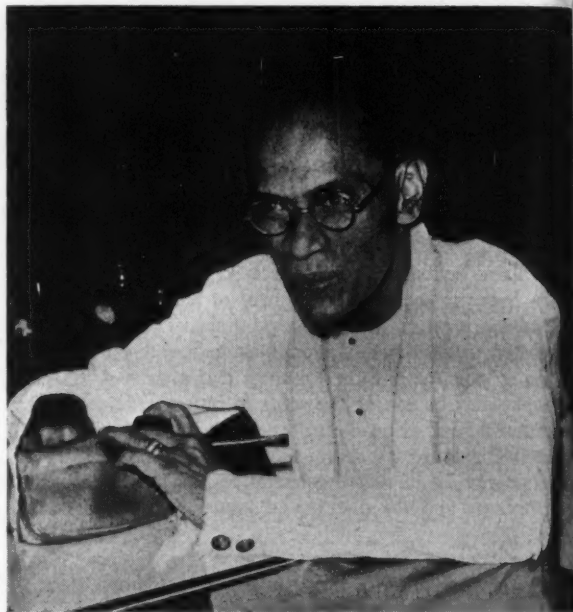
RECLINING on a settee and smoking his pipe, Ceylon's Prime Minister looked anything but a worried man. Mr.

Bandaranaike has one of the most important qualities necessary for political leadership: energy mixed with optimism. It might be called shrewdness mixed with idealism. Whatever it is, there seems no doubt that he is on top of his job, and equally important, he inspires confidence. Ceylon today is neither better nor worse off than other countries in South-East Asia. She has her difficult problems, mainly arising from accruing over-population in an agrarian society which finds it increasingly impossible to absorb the growing labour force. But, like Indonesia, the kind climate, the family system and village cooperatives as well as the rubber, tea and coconut industries, have so far prevented bad distress, which means that at present other problems, of far less seriousness, occupy the minds of the Ceylonese. Mr. Bandaranaike is only too well aware of the gathering clouds on the economic horizon. But he feels that we are living in an age of transition from one society to another, and that no internal political or economic solution either in Ceylon or any other country is possible which is not influenced by it. That transformation is not yet complete. In the meantime conflicts of an ideological, political and economic nature are created which, Mr. Bandaranaike thinks, have not only to be taken into consideration in policy-making, but have to be actively tackled. How then, I asked, did he envisage a solution of world problems?

"One of the methods by which conflicts are usually solved," the Prime Minister said, "is war. Yet today this is a complicated and, as always, dangerous solution. To earnestly contemplate war on any scale, small or large, nowadays is to court immense destruction to mankind. I naturally take the line which I consider best for Ceylon. As isolation is no longer possible, I think it is the only feasible line for every country. We simply consider it imperative, while recognising the different points of view, to always attempt settlement by negotiation and to establish friendly relations and cooperation. The peoples of the world cannot afford to hate each other so much that there is any chance of it flaring up into war. We must also realise that man is more important than 'isms.' Just as it was said 'Sabbath was made for man' and not *vice versa*, we must not sacrifice man for any 'isms.' That, as I understand it, is the philosophy of coexistence. And it is one of the essential parts on which my foreign policy is based."

Had this spirit of coexistence and negotiation, I asked, been put into operation during the Suez Crisis? Had there not been much sabre-rattling in Asian quarters? And in any case, what was the other part of his foreign policy?

"As a matter of fact," Mr. Bandaranaike went on, "the recent happenings over the Suez Canal clearly demonstrated that you cannot do in the middle of the Twentieth Century what some nations did with impunity in the Nineteenth Century or earlier. As to the other part of my foreign policy, I would like to explain the background first. We ourselves, and other Asian countries, in particular those recently



The Prime Minister of Ceylon

emerged from colonial status into freedom, are faced with a dual problem: of converting a colonial society into a free society, and of doing this in the context of a world which in itself has changed. In the search for such a solution in this dual problem we naturally do not wish to bind ourselves to any particular power bloc or ideology. We wish to look about us in building a society for our country most suited to our own genius and the needs of the modern world. There may be things we take from the capitalist West or the Communist East. This, in other words, is the philosophy of neutralism."

Neutralism, I mentioned, had at various times been decried by Pandit Nehru and only lately Indonesian statesmen had told me that something more positive than mere neutralism was required.

"Our attitude is governed by these factors," Mr. Bandaranaike replied, "and neutralism is as good a word for it as anything. It does not arise from dishonesty or of 'sitting on the fence.' But it is indeed forced upon us inexorably by the circumstances. And I am pleased that there is understanding for our point of view in Canada and other Commonwealth countries including England. Even in the United States a growing understanding for our attitude became apparent during my talks with President Eisenhower. Coexistence and neutralism remains the background of Ceylon's foreign policy."

Did this outlook have an application on Mr. Bandaranaike's internal policy and what were the guiding principles of the new society he wanted to build up in Ceylon?

The Prime Minister said he personally felt that, in essence, the same line of thought ruling his foreign policy was also the basis of his outlook on internal affairs. The type of society Ceylon needed, he said, was one fitting into what he called "the new world" and combining three elements in the political, economic and cultural field.

"Politically," Mr. Bandaranaike said, "I am a firm believer in democracy and in the spirit of the democratic way of life as found in existence in England with the parliamentary system as its chief instrument. I think it is one that we should try hard to follow. The majority of our people, and this applies also to other Asian countries, have been living in semi-slavery for many years.

"In the economic sphere," he continued, "many of our greatest problems cannot be solved satisfactorily except on socialist lines. The economic development, agricultural, industrial and in every other respect, which alone can give our poverty-stricken masses a reasonable standard of living, cannot be achieved today by private enterprise. I do not exclude private enterprise from useful spheres of activity," he added, "but I can visualise a form of mixed economy at the present time."

Concerning the third factor of Ceylon's new society, the Prime Minister said it was the religio-cultural one. I had the impression that this was a concession to the electorate with an eye on gaining, or at least keeping, votes. For I knew well that Ceylon has always had a strong Buddhist element in her public life and there seemed to me little need for stressing the point except for party reasons. However, Mr. Bandaranaike insisted it was a point he specially wanted to make. "For the spiritual values mean a great deal to us in Asia," he said, "and so do our cultures and languages. A revival of these, having lain dormant during colonial rule, is very necessary for our true progress. Religious revival does not mean religious conflict. But it is something with which our people are imbued and it cannot be sacrificed without incurring a serious loss of values. These three trends: political democracy; socialist economy and the religio-cultural element are the mainstay and the foundation of the new civilisation of our country, best calculated to preserve the genius of our own land while at the same time meeting the requirements of the new changing world of Asia. And in order to achieve this, we simply must have peace."

Coming back to the point of religio-cultural revival, I tackled the Prime Minister on the language question, the most delicate internal problem of Ceylon during the past year. Many varying accounts had been given of its importance and how it arose; could he give his own version?

The Prime Minister's eyes sparkled with the true satisfaction of the successful politician who has won a point. Of course he would tell me, with pleasure. And he relit his pipe and relaxed. He was on familiar ground.

"The language problem was really created for us by the previous Government. There was none until Sir John Kotelawala, my predecessor, on a visit to Jaffna, promised the Tamils parity of status for the Singhalese and Tamil languages as official languages of the country and that he would introduce an amendment to the Constitution to this purpose. This created a storm of protest amongst the Singhalese who constitute 70 percent of our population. For they feared, not without reason, that this would mean the elimination of the Singhalese language and culture. Singhalese is spoken by six million people in Ceylon and by nobody else in the world. Tamil, on the other hand, is also the

language of 80 million people in southern India; it has its own tradition and, literature and is, of course, a powerful factor of Indian culture and influence. Here in Ceylon it further has the enormous advantage over Singhalese that it is not only the language of two of our provinces, but of many traders all over the island. It also is the language of one million south Indian labourers who work on plantations in Singhalese provinces. So the fears of the Singhalese are not altogether unjustified, and the issue generated the hottest political passion we have had in this country for a long time. Consequently, Sir John Kotelawala became alarmed shortly before the general elections and turned a complete *volte face* for fear of losing the Singhalese votes. He then planked for the Singhalese language only. Unfortunately for him and his party, his last minute action was not accepted as *bona fide* by the Singhalese, nor did it secure the confidence of the Tamils. That was one of the main reasons for Sir John's downfall.

When our Government was elected, we naturally made up our minds to deal with this, now vitally important language question. We have taken the attitude that Singhalese alone should be made the official language. We did this while at the same time promising the Tamils that this would not mean any discrimination against them or that it constituted an attempt to eliminate their language or culture here. And we have given effect to it. Tamil is still the medium of instruction in schools and will also be a medium of instruction at the university. Those who studied in Tamil and seek entry into Government service are allowed to pass their exams in Tamil, provided they agree, after a probation period, to acquire a sufficient knowledge of Singhalese to perform their duties. The situation compelled us to take early action as passions were running white hot on all sides, and we felt that we had found the most reasonable solution under the circumstances."

Once warried up about his predecessors, the Prime Minister expressed the opinion that the previous administration had also suffered a great defeat in the economic field. "They never did any planning, with the result that there had been haphazard spending and a great deal of waste of public money and nothing to show for it in the end." Mr. Bandaranaike has now set up a Planning Council which "has got down to its job seriously." He feels happy that in one respect he is better off than many countries in South-East Asia, for Ceylon has no shortage of good administrators. Before the British withdrawal, quite a large part of the administration was in the hands of Ceylonese officials of experience and high calibre. One of the great problems, however, which Ceylon has to face is the general one of lack of technical personnel. The country has secured a great deal of help under the Colombo Plan from Commonwealth countries and also from the US, but this has not been sufficient to meet the needs envisaged by the planners. "That is where our friends abroad can help us," the Prime Minister said, "and we shall not refuse such assistance, if needed, from any country which can give it to us."

This last remark, which obviously referred to Communist countries, led to the discussion of trade with the latter. Mr. Bandaranaike here also applies his standpoint of neutrality. Ceylon, he explained, had concluded a number of trade agreements with various countries of eastern Europe. "One of the best methods of preserving peace and of strengthening friendly relations is to remove artificial barriers of trade," he said.

ASIAN SURVEY

PAKISTAN'S FINANCIAL BEWILDERMENT

From Our Karachi Correspondent

IN one important sense, the question of the hour in Pakistan is that of Kashmir, but this is not a question for Pakistan alone. Doubtless it is for Pakistan to persevere and press the matter, but the shape which the problem is now assuming indicates that in due time its importance for the United Nations will transcend that which it has for Pakistan only. In Pakistan's domestic affairs, with which the world is less directly concerned but which are of fundamental significance to the country itself, recent weeks have witnessed the resurgence of the vitally important economic problem.

The Budget has disclosed, perhaps more clearly than ever since economic difficulties began to appear in 1952, how financially hard-pressed Pakistan in fact is. In order to meet a prospective deficit of about eight crores of rupees (£6,000,000 approximately) the Finance Minister felt compelled to introduce a series of increases in indirect taxation on petrol, diesel and furnace oil, imported tobacco, tea, cement, jute manufactures, indigenous cloth, cycle tyres and tubes as well as increased direct taxes on incomes exceeding Rs.60,000 (about £4,500 sterling) per annum. Furthermore, an unusual sales tax of 25 percent was to be levied on all purchases by Pakistanis of foreign exchange required for foreign travel.

The Budget proposals were, not unnaturally, strongly attacked. It was said that the effect of indirect taxation would be, in large measure, to distribute the burden among all classes of the community irrespective of their financial condition and no doubt there was substance in this criticism. But, the Finance Minister could well ask, what else is there to tax? Duties on alcoholic liquors have already reached the point at which the law of diminishing returns is likely to begin its operation. As it is, taxation on imported liquors is already so high as to encourage smuggling. No doubt, there is room for increased taxation on higher incomes, judged at least by western standards, but all round increases of income tax and super-tax at this juncture would merely provide additional incentive for evasion which is sufficiently serious at present taxation levels.

The sales tax on purchases of foreign exchange was resented as an indirect admission of a depreciated value in the Pakistan rupee and as an incentive to black market purchases of foreign money, the rates for which rose as soon as the Budget was announced. This was not the first time that the Government had acted in such a way, astonishing as it will appear, so as to encourage black market dealings in foreign exchange. The Finance Minister said that the proposed tax would have the effect of discouraging Pakistanis from travelling abroad and there would, therefore, be some measure of relief on foreign exchange expenditure. It may be so, although not many people believed it. Later events showed that the Finance Minister realised the advisability of setting his face against any transactions which involve tacit admission of a depreciated value in the Pakistan rupee.

Financial bewilderment demonstrated itself by a decision, in the middle of the Budget debate, to drop the taxes on cement, foreign exchange and to modify the increases of taxation proposed for tea, cloth and petrol. At the same time, the £300 basic travel quota was abolished but it remains to be seen whether even this decision will remain. The Opposition claimed credit for the Finance Minister's hasty retreat and Mr. Suhrawardy, experienced politician, said that the credit for these changes should be shared.

It must by now be realised that the answer to the country's financial difficulties is not to be found in the Finance Ministry except insofar as there have been financial irregularities and waste of money caused by corruption, negligence and abuse of position. The reports of the Public Accounts Committee for the three years ending in 1953 have just been laid before the National Assembly and their contents are clearly alarming. It is significant that these reports appear so belatedly and it is to be hoped that in time public opinion will enforce greater expedition.

But even when the financial administration has been tightened up and all the leakages of public money have been closed, the major problem will remain. The Finance Minister in his Budget speech, dwelt at length upon the disappointing state of agriculture in Pakistan. Crop yields are falling and the country is palpably unable to feed itself. Every year the population increases by more than a million mouths and every year it becomes necessary to spend foreign exchange on the purchase of foodgrains. Mr. Bell, head of the International Cooperation Administration in Pakistan, has been severe in his criticism of the decline in Pakistan's agriculture. The growth of industry, in some ways a gratifying circumstance, does not keep pace with rising consumption and in the case of some industries it is a question whether the foreign exchange they save is equal to the foreign exchange they need for their maintenance. It is now fairly widely known that a report recently made to the World Bank on Pakistan's credit worthiness was not exactly a favourable one.

What, then, is to be done? Writing in very general terms, a primary need is to remove the laziness and lack of drive which permeate the administration. All bureaucracies, (including the bureaucracies of big business) tend to be paper bound but in western countries this vice is offset by the confidence of the individual in his ability and, indeed, in his inherent right to go ahead where he is doing what is legal and appears to him useful and profitable. Official control and regulation may well be involved but these are accepted as part of the problem of enterprise and not necessarily as the primary consideration. In Pakistan, belief in the necessity for prior bureaucratic assent to almost everything amounts to a psychopathic condition, especially in the minds of many Government officials who cannot imagine that anybody can do anything unless official sanction in some form has been

obtained and any suggestion to the contrary would, for them, almost wear the appearance of insult. This particular form of mental paralysis has to be seen to be believed and the cure for it can be neither speedy nor easy.

Meanwhile, interim measures are urgently necessary and many might be suggested. At the top level, it is surely worth considering whether the services of Mr. Mohamed Ali Choudhary could not be restored to the country. There have been many speculations concerning his future—formation of a new political party, diplomatic appointments—but no one

has yet thought (at least not publicly) of utilising his outstanding abilities as an administrator and financial expert. As a politician, Mr. Mohamed Ali does not possess all the necessary qualifications and as an ambassador he would not be able to use his special gifts. In the present need for financial administrators of a proved high order of ability and unquestioned integrity, there is a special place for him and the Government could do worse than consider how he might be most effectively used in repairing Pakistan's financial status.

JAPANESE TRADE UNIONS — LEFT OR RIGHT?

From Stuart Griffin (EASTERN WORLD Tokyo Correspondent)

HAS *Sohyo* — the General Council of Japan Trade Unions — the nation's largest national labour organization of 40 affiliates and three million members, veered left or right in its policy for the new year, for its approaching "spring" and "summer" offensives? And how much influence does Communism exert in *Sohyo*?

Despite the Council's pro-Soviet stand on even the flagrant Hungarian revolution issue and its staunch anti-American base position, the questions are not so easy to answer. *Sohyo* elected Yukitaka Haraguchi, a vigorous anti-Communist and Tokyo representative of the anti-Communist International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), president over pro-Soviet Makoto Ichikawa of *Zenchuro* (the All-Japan Federation of US Security Base Workers) by 169 to 130, and yet this past autumn *Sohyo* took a more conciliatory attitude towards Communism, even than in the past.

The shift, however slight, has been towards the left in that the radical elements of *Sohyo* succeeded in forcing rather sweeping modifications of plans and policies put forward by the moderate "main-stream" leadership.

The moderate wing is headed by the Synthetic Chemical Workers Union chief Kaoro Ota and Akira Iwai of the powerful National Railway Workers Union, assisted by Mr. Haraguchi, himself also the chieftain of the Federation of Metal Mine Workers Union. "Anti-mainstream" radical leadership rests with Minoru Takano, alleged Communist card holder and ex-*Sohyo* secretary-general, the wing being composed of the influential Teacher's Union, the US Security Force Workers Union, and other Communist-line unions. Leadership, however uncertainly, appears to be in the moderates' hands.

There are four points which show factional difference: (1) evaluation of last year's labour offensives; (2) proposal for adoption of minimum wages; (3) struggles against the US-sponsored productivity drive, and (4) attitude taken towards Communism, the Japan Communist Party in particular. The Iwai-Ota group says *Sohyo's* 1956 offensives were failures, arguing that the slight boost in pay was far short of original targets, in fact little more than management usually gives annually, without undue union pressure. The Takano faction calls the offensives "striking successes, won after immense struggles."

Moderates seek minimum wages of at least \$21 a month for 18-year-olds, graduated for age, skill and seniority, with

special emphasis on medium-small enterprise. Radicals say minimum wages thus established might serve as upper limits only, and thus hamper future wage boosts. "Main-streamers" attack the US productivity increase plan on economic grounds, that is, it would mean worker layoff, extra job burdens, and lower wages. "Anti-Main-stream," calling the plan "a capitalist labour-exploiting scheme," assaults on political grounds; the idea is tied in with MSA and defence and rearmament buildups. Radicals consider moderate attacks on this "worst enemy of the working class" as "too weak and lukewarm."

Moderate position with regard to Communism is all out opposition to joint struggle aided by the Japanese Communist Party and no official support of Communism. Radicals, though, succeeded in ramming through rejection of a policy clause barring collaboration with the JCP in labour struggles. The climax of the moderate-radical struggle, it is believed, will probably be reached this spring or early summer, at the time of the labour offensives.

A neutral observer says shrewdly: "The great trouble is that Japanese labour is too often interested in political gains and political manoeuvring, and not enough in straight trade unionism to give the workers benefits. Of the two, the Ota-Iwai faction is the more interested in immediate worker gains, while the Takano group is concerned with spurring a labour movement that is also a political force." Can the strong anti-Communist forces gathered under *Sohyo's* new executives contain the dwindling strength but proven striking power of the leftist elements?

The Takano strength has dropped but the Iwai-Ota group has failed to capitalise on the decline and has even let the former dictate and bully through compromises on policy decisions. Iwai had beaten Takano 128 to 123 in the 1955 Secretary-General elections and again, in 1956, 39-year-old Haraguchi had defeated Takano's candidate, Ichikawa, for the *Sohyo* presidency. Takano was beaten in Executive Committee polling, and now controls only seven to eight seats on the 17-seat Committee and only one top vice-president post out of five. Takano men, however, head such powerful departments as strike; research; organisation; international; youth, and legal, while moderates run education; welfare; administration; finance; information, and small-medium industry.

The 1956-57 policy is anti-Communist in that it says clearly only the Socialist and Labour-Farmer parties will

receive direct *Sohyo* support, but Communist influence was strong enough to let Takano get his own way in the deletion of the clause barring joint action, *Sohyo* with the Communist Party. Mr. Takano will work for a leftist *Sohyo*. Of that there seems no doubt. Iwai-Ota-Haraguchi will try to absorb as many unions and members as possible into openly Socialist ranks, and will push to consolidate all anti-Communist elements within *Sohyo*. President Haraguchi seeks to link the Council with the pro-Democracy *Zenro*, the Japan Trade Union Congress, a supporter of the ICFTU against the WFTU (World Federation of Trade Unions), an admitted Communist labour organ.

But *Zenro*, with 800,000 members who once broke away from *Sohyo* "seeking a Democratic trade union movement against a Red-influenced one" calls *Sohyo* policy, especially after the Council protested against the Anglo-French action in Egypt but not against Soviet aggression in Hungary, "unrealistic, opportunistic, and pro-Communist." Haraguchi, ironically the son of a pre-war progressive military man and himself a one-time *Zaibatsu* (Big Business) company employee, is still the anti-Communist front's most robust figure. He and Iwai and Ota fear Communist growth in *Sohyo*. They see the Council's best democratic hopes in united anti-Communist solidarity, and it attracting back such known pro-Democracy bodies as *Zenro* and the powerful *Sodomei* (Japan Federation of Labour Unions) and the *Shin Sanbetsu* (National Federation of Industrial Organisations).

Haraguchi knows that if *Zenro* in its walk-out had not taken the strong All-Japan Seamen's Union and the National Federation of Textile Workers the anti-Communist front in *Sohyo* would today be stronger, even to perhaps routing Takano and his left-wing elements. "We now know," he says, "that rather than walk out on Communist elements to set in motion a rival camp, it is better to stay and battle the leftist elements from within, and thus finally compel these forces out into the open, and thus eventually out of power."

The year 1957 will tell perhaps whether Mr. Haraguchi can hew to the moderate line of Ota and Iwai or be forced to recognise the resurgent pro-Communist left of Minoru Takano.

BURMA

The Frontier Question

From A Correspondent in Rangoon

The boundaries on the Sino-Burmese frontier have been the subject of long standing disputes, particularly in two areas, which are both wild and remote. These are the Kachin area in the north, where no agreement on demarcation has ever been reached; and the Wa district, which forms the north-eastern part of the present Shan State. In the Kachin area the Chinese have been known to claim an area extending as far west as the Chaukan pass on the Indo-Burmese frontier, and in the south they claim the parts of the Shan and Wa States that lie east of the Salween.

Because there has been no defined boundary in the Kachin area, Chinese troops have periodically crossed into Kachin and set up outposts. But Chinese infiltration into the Kachin State, although it involves larger stretches of territory, does not seem to have caused so much anxiety in Burma as similar efforts in the Wa State, where the presence of Chinese troops was regarded as a violation. The excuse

given for the presence in Kachin was their ignorance of the frontier boundary.

The boundary in the area of the Wa State was first fixed by the convention of 1894, which was modified in 1897 when a joint commission was appointed to verify and demarcate the frontier in order to avoid any local contention. However, the commission did not reach an agreement until 1904, and even then about 200 miles in the Wa area had no settled boundary line. The Scott line, so called after Sir George Scott, one of the original members of the commission, was provisionally observed by the British Government. This line placed most of the Wa State inside Burma, and lay farther east than the Liuchen Line, so called after General Liu and Mr. Chen, the Chinese members of the commission. The Liuchen Line intersected the Wa State, allotting the Lu Fang silver mines to China.

It was not until 1933, when a visit by a party of British geologists to the mines in the area caused some skirmishes between Chinese irregulars and Burmese frontier police, that the question of the boundary arose again. Thus the Iselin Commission, consisting of two British and two Chinese commissioners under the chairmanship of Colonel Iselin, a Swiss, was established in 1935. The Iselin Commission determined a definite frontier line in the Wa area in 1937, and in June 1941 this was confirmed by two Notes, one of which laid down the frontier between Burma and Yunnan, and the other defined an area on the Burmese side of the frontier in which the Burmese Government agreed to permit 49 percent Chinese participation in any mining enterprise. These proposals were never ratified, and the frontier has remained a subject of dispute.

The climax of the dispute was reached in the summer of last year when it was unofficially reported that Chinese troops concentrations had entered sixty miles inside Burmese territory along a 500-mile stretch inside the frontier areas of the Wa and Kachin States, and of the increasing number of Chinese troops on the north-east frontier. This caused the Burmese great concern as they recognised the borders of the Wa State as defined by the Treaty of 1941, and asked the Chinese Government to withdraw their troops to their side of the border before negotiations on a settlement could take place.

A further step in the dispute was reached as a result of U Nu's visit to Peking in October after which a joint Burmese-Chinese communique stated that the Burmese Government promised to give consideration to the Chinese proposals. Meantime, the two Governments agreed that from the end of November 1956 Chinese troops would withdraw from the area to the west of the 1941 line, while Burmese troops would withdraw from Hpimaw, Kangfang and Gawlum areas in the Kachin State. The withdrawal was completed before the end of last year.

There seems no doubt that China invaded the Wa State to establish a strong bargaining position over the Kachin frontier. North of Myitkyina the frontier was left undefined by the 1897 Commission, so the British claimed that it should lie along the watershed between the Salween and Nmai Kha rivers. On the other hand, the Chinese claimed rights over areas west of the watershed, including Hpimaw, Kangfang and Gawlum, 115 miles north-east of Myitkyina, because the villages had paid tribute to an overlord on the other side of the Salween. In 1914 British, Tibetan and Chinese representatives drew up the McMahon line, which follows the

watershed, but the Chinese at once repudiated it, and no other settlement was ever reached.

The other important area in the dispute is the Namwan Assigned Tract, which is recognised Chinese territory and of strategic importance. It penetrates into Burma some forty miles south of Bhamo and was originally leased from the Chinese as the main eastern Burmese north-south highway by across it. This road is now undergoing major improvements. The Chinese Communist regime has refused to accept the rent previously paid for this area.

The agreements so far reached between the Burmese and Chinese Governments is that the Chinese Government is willing to accept and respect the existing boundary between Burma and China, and to forego all past claims, except those of Hpimaw, Gawlum and Kangfang, and the Namwan Assigned Tract. The only condition the Chinese have attached is that there should be a "package deal" embracing the McMahon line, the Iselin line and the four areas.

Whether these agreements will bring the problem nearer to a solution remains to be seen, but it appears that the Kachins have no desire to see part of their State ceded to China. They deny that any of the ancestors ever paid tribute to China, and it is on such a tribute that China bases her claim to the Kachin areas. It is, therefore, likely that any cession of Kachin territory to China will be strongly opposed in the Kachin State Council, which may provide the Burmese Government with the grounds for resisting the Chinese proposals.

UNITED STATES

Imaginative Proposal

From David C. Williams

(EASTERN WORLD Washington Correspondent)

The Congressional discussion of the "Eisenhower Doctrine" has, among other things, made very clear a considerable degree of resistance among Senators and Congressmen to the American programme of technical and economic aid to the peoples of the under-developed areas of the world. In spite of the fact that every public opinion poll shows that this programme enjoys a very wide degree of popular support, there is danger that it may be severely cut or drastically altered in character.

It is therefore all the more timely that two of the leading American experts in this field, Professors W. W. Rostow and Max F. Millikan, chose last month to launch a new and imaginative proposal for world economic development—a proposal which comes with the high prestige of the Centre for International Studies of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. The key to this new programme is the bold proposal that economic aid be available to any country in the world which needs aid and is in a position to use it.

Basic to this proposal is the theory that the process of economic growth goes through three stages. Once the stagnation of feudal or primitive societies is ended, the first need is for the establishment of the pre-conditions of economic growth—a stable government with a trained civil service, an adequate supply of engineers and other trained technicians. In this period, countries are not yet ready to absorb usefully any considerable quantity of economic aid, whether in dollars or otherwise. The chief need is for technical assistance, primarily the training of civil servants and technicians.

Second is a transition period during which, as the authors see it, "the economy springs forward." The forces for economic progress, which up to then have shown only limited bursts of activity, expand and become decisive factors. In a decade or so the basic structure of the society is transformed in such a way that steady growth can be sustained with a diminishing inflow of capital from overseas. The authors cite India as a prime example of a country in this transition period, which needs and can usefully absorb massive foreign aid. At the end of this period lies the phase of "self-sustained growth" during which a country produces and can readily supplement from abroad the capital resources needed for its own growth.

The United States, as the authors see it, passed through the first period from 1790 to 1840, the second from 1840 to 1860, and has since then enjoyed a growth which is largely self-sustained. Both duty and self-interest require it to help other countries to do likewise. To make this possible, they propose that the United States Government offer to provide a new long-term capital fund of from 10 to 12,000 million dollars to be made available over a five-year period for loans and grants to accelerate economic growth, and suggest that the other industrialised countries provide from two to three thousand million dollars as part of a unified programme.

These sums are to be made available without any military or political strings, but under strict, business-like standards designed to guarantee that the loans and grants could be effectively used and that the loans could be repaid in a reasonable period of time. For countries in the second, or transition, period, this would make possible steady progress toward self-sufficiency with a minimum of strain upon their social and political institutions. For countries in the initial phase, this would provide a powerful inducement to modernise their governmental institutions and train their people so as to be ready to qualify for economic aid and to begin to make real progress in raising their standards of living. As the authors say: "Although it is most unlikely . . . that the whole of the sums offered would be taken up, it is essential that the availability of the full amount be guaranteed in order to remove the lack of capital as a bottleneck to economic growth and to provide maximum stimulus for the governments and peoples of the under-developed countries to expand their capacities to use capital effectively."

UNITED NATIONS

Aid for Asia

From Our Correspondent in Bangkok

Aid to Asia, coming from many quarters, has been steadily increasing in the last few years. Most international of the various external assistance programmes for Asia is the aid organised through the United Nations and its specialised agencies. This aid is mainly in brains through expert advice and in loans from the World Bank. Largest of the UN technical assistance activities are those organised under the expanded technical-assistance programme, in which the United Nations and the specialised agencies have co-ordinated their efforts to meet requests from governments. In 1957 over 1,000 experts drawn from all over the world will be stationed in UN member-states in Asia for an average period of 10 months under this expanded technical assistance programme, and about an equal number of Asian

officials and students will be going abroad under the scheme for study purposes.

An extraordinarily wide field of interest and activities is covered, ranging from economic development planning to the eradication of malaria, from the irrigation of desert lands to the extension of telecommunications, from the training of ground staff for civil aviation to the fight against illiteracy, from studies of wind power to the preparation of labour legislation. To finance this programme, some \$30 million have been contributed this year by governments into the special UN fund for expanded technical assistance, which is under the control of the UN Technical Assistance Board (TAB). Smaller amounts are also available for technical assistance from the separate budgets of the United Nations and specialised agencies, such as the Food and Agriculture Organisation, World Health Organisation, Unesco, International Labour Organisation, International Civil Aviation Organisation, etc. In the expanded technical assistance programme, Asian countries, including those in the Middle East, take a more than 50 percent share, while Latin America gets about one quarter, Africa one tenth, and Europe about 6 percent. This year the programme provides some \$10.5 million or £3.8 million for the countries of Asia and the Far East (excluding the Middle East), and of this amount \$2.3 million go to India, \$1.1 million to Indonesia, \$1.0 million to Pakistan, \$0.9 million to Burma, \$0.7 million to Afghanistan, \$0.6 million to Thailand, and \$0.5 million to Ceylon. Under the programme there will be stationed this year 182 experts in India, 102 in Indonesia, 99 in Burma, 96 in Pakistan, 65 each in Afghanistan and Thailand, 55 in Ceylon, 46 in the Philippines, 27 in Viet Nam, 26 in Cambodia, 25 in Malaya, and smaller numbers in other countries in the region.

As an international effort and a collective enterprise the technical assistance programme of the United Nations and the specialised agencies is unique in history. Its obvious great advantage is its objectivity, a lack of political strings, and the absence of commercialism. But as it is it can plug only comparatively small gaps in the national development programmes of the various countries. It provides skill, an important commodity, but it does not provide goods and equipment, except for equipment essential to a UN project. As compared to large bilateral programmes, the financial volume of United Nations aid is modest indeed. A few figures will illustrate this point. In the three-year period up to 1952 the United States gave in grants and credits some \$500 million annually (or about £165 million) to 13 countries in Asia and the Far East. Since then, US assistance has considerably expanded. In 1957, US aid to the Republic of Viet Nam alone is expected to reach \$250 million. US aid now pays for practically all the imports of Laos, 80 percent of the imports of South Viet Nam and South Korea, and it balances to a larger extent the trade deficits of Cambodia, Taiwan, and the Philippines.

While the Colombo Plan has been extended, the Soviet Union and China have entered the field of foreign aid to Asian countries, offering and giving assistance and credits. The Soviet Union is giving long-term credits at low interest to Afghanistan, India and Indonesia for specific development projects (\$100 million each to Afghanistan and Indonesia, and \$240 million to India). Mainland China has agreed to give economic assistance to Cambodia totalling \$22.4 million or £8 million, and to Nepal. Thus in several countries a multitude of foreign aid programmes has come into existence,

with the result that small Cambodia with a population of a little more than 4 million expects to receive in 1957 a total of almost \$100 million from abroad. In Afghanistan, to give another example, the Soviet Union builds an airport at Kabul, the United Nations through ICAO advises on the construction of an international airport at Kandahar, and the United States assists Afghanistan's infant civil aviation. Foreign aid, in this form or another, has come to occupy an integral and essential part in Asian economic development programmes. Even India's new Five-Year Plan depends for its success to a considerable extent on foreign aid.

AUSTRALIA

Commonwealth Dispersal?

From Our Canberra Correspondent

Australia's comparative isolation may have caused the long-held belief in this part of the world, and in New Zealand, that the members of the Commonwealth should have closer links and that the resources of manpower and industry should be spread more widely. Recent events in the Middle East and elsewhere have reinforced the arguments of those advocating these courses. The new High Commissioner for Australia in London, Sir Eric Harrison, has suggested to some rather unenthusiastic hearers, both British and Asian, that a Commonwealth Secretariat should be established for those members who acknowledge allegiance to the Crown. The Australian Minister for Labour, Mr. Harold Holt, has proposed a "Commonwealth Plan," under which long-range planning would be undertaken, perhaps with the assistance of the United States (which has a vested interest in the preservation of a strong Commonwealth, despite some apparent moves to the contrary recently), to secure a much greater movement of people and resources than ever before from the vulnerable heart of the Commonwealth in Britain to the outlying parts. "The Suez crisis," Mr. Holt said the other day, "has demonstrated pointedly how dangerously placed the British peoples are."

One Australian newspaper recalled that in April 1946 the United Kingdom Chiefs of Staff recommended the removal of a substantial portion of the population and significant sections of industry from the British Isles to Commonwealth countries. They advised the Prime Minister's Conference in London at that time that dispersal of population and industrial plant should be put in hand because Great Britain was the most vulnerable of all the great Powers, and it was essential that a considerable portion of Commonwealth industries should be nearer the sources of raw materials. "That advice," said the newspaper, "has been passed over, but the danger remains."

It was believed in Canberra early this year that this problem might be considered in conjunction with the reassessment in progress both of western defences in general and of the Australian strategic policy. It may be associated with the new Australian drive for British migrants, and with the intensive research now in progress to make new and great areas of Australia habitable by a combination of scientific rainmaking and the use of atomic energy for the desalination of sea and lake waters. Vulnerability in the world today, it is acknowledged in Canberra, is largely a matter of degree—but Britain is viewed from this distance as being dangerously inside the firing line.

KASHMIR: THE PAKISTAN CASE

The first leading article in this magazine last month made the point that to hold a plebiscite in Kashmir now would create more problems than it solved, and it also gave reasons why Kashmir should go to India. The official statement we print below sets out Pakistan's case on Kashmir.

A FUNDAMENTAL principle of democracy is a people's inherent right of self-determination. It was in accordance with this principle that India and Pakistan sought and secured their Independence. It was under this principle that Britain, to her everlasting credit, willingly granted Independence to these two countries. In the application of this principle in the State of Jammu and Kashmir—explicitly agreed to by India and Pakistan—lies the case of Pakistan. All Pakistan asks is that India should honour her international commitments and allow the people of the State to decide in a free and impartial plebiscite under the United Nations aegis, as to whether their State should accede to India or Pakistan. This fundamental principle of democracy has been repeatedly affirmed by India herself over the years, not only in the various resolutions of the Security Council since 1948, but also prior to 1948. Since then, this reference to the people has remained a mirage. After eloquently championing abroad the principle of self-determination, India has sedulously put up a smokescreen of excuses, charges, untruths and pretexts to resile from her international commitments and to deny this principle to the people of the State and to surreptitiously integrate the State and present it as a *fait accompli*. Direct negotiations between India and Pakistan, as desired by the United Nations, and mediation have failed and India has rejected arbitration. Her pretexts, untruths and highly selective charges have no beginning and no end as they depend on the vagaries of her mood and an apparent determination not to honour either this basic principle of democracy or her own international commitments. It is not possible, in an article such as this, to deal with them. Each year has witnessed a new crop—aggression, accession and a host of others *ad nauseum*, but notwithstanding these charges and pretexts, the hollowness of which has been repeatedly exposed, the Security Council passed resolutions on August 13, 1948, and January 5, 1949, after hearing both sides, and both India and Pakistan accepted these resolutions providing for a free and impartial plebiscite in the State under the United Nations auspices for the disposition of the State either to India or Pakistan.

Pakistan has already met a number of obligations placed on her by the Security Council Resolution of August 13, 1948, and is ready to meet the rest provided India gives any sign of honouring her obligations under the same resolution. India claims that she would never agree to the principle that political allegiance should be based on religion, in respect of Junagadh and Hyderabad, and also the fact that Hindu leaders of Kashmir of the stature of Lakhnupal and Premnath Bazaz, among others with formidable organizations behind them have been demanding, in unison with their Muslim countrymen, a free and impartial plebiscite in the State of Jammu and Kashmir, under the above-quoted resolutions.

Pakistan's case was reaffirmed by the free world on January 24 this year when the Security Council passed a resolution which reaffirmed by ten votes to nil its resolutions of August 13, 1948, January 5, 1949, and March 30, 1951, for a free

and impartial plebiscite under the United Nations aegis. Even Russia abstained from voting against this resolution. Pakistan took the case again to the Security Council on January 16 this year because of the announced Indian intention to annexe that part of Kashmir under her occupation on January 26th in contravention of her guarantees and commitments and the Security Council Resolution of March 30, 1951.

The sorry tale of "hand-picked" men in the so-called Constitution Assembly "elected" in India-occupied Kashmir in 1951, which India claims has passed a Constitution making the State an integral part of India, hardly bears repetition. Its convener, Sheikh Abdullah, an old friend of the Indian Prime Minister, whom India took to plead her case before the Security Council in 1948 and 1949, has been languishing in jail without trial for the past three and a half years for not desiring integration of the State with India. All opposition was suppressed and has been suppressed since. When the so-called "Constitution" was being discussed what little opposition there was walked out. Most of the leaders demanding a plebiscite have been under arrest. Sheikh Abdullah's letter to the President of the Security Council, written from jail and recently made available to the world, has thoroughly exposed the conditions prevailing in Indian-occupied Kashmir. An area about the size of England continues to be occupied by over three Indian Divisions, including the State Militia and that instrument of oppression known as the "Peace Brigade."

Pakistan asks for all troops, Indian and Pakistani, to be withdrawn, local forces to be disbanded and an early and firm date to be fixed for the induction into office of the Plebiscite Administrator by the Security Council so that a plebiscite may be held without further delay. India is committed to this. If international commitments are to be twisted to suit the whims of one party, namely, India, it would indeed be a unique commentary on international relations and solemn treaties. As many as eleven proposals for a plebiscite have been made in the past nine years. All of them have been accepted by Pakistan and India has rejected the lot.

When Partition was agreed upon, the Viceroy, Lord Mountbatten, advised the rulers that in deciding the question of accession they must pay due regard to the communal composition of their populations, the wishes of their peoples and the geographic location of their States. In regard to Kashmir, the position was crystal clear. Here, although the ruler was a Hindu, 77.11 percent of the population was Muslim. The State territory is contiguous to Pakistan. The three rivers flowing out of Kashmir, the Indus, Jhelum and Chenab, are vital to the agricultural economy of West Pakistan. The State is wholly inaccessible to India except by air and by a treacherous mountain road which is closed by snow in the winter. Kashmir's natural trade routes all run into Pakistan. All these important factors make accession to Pakistan a natural course.

(Continued on page 28)

Letters to the Editor

THE KASHMIR ISSUE

Sir.—In a letter published in your issue of last May, I expressed the opinion that "the Kashmiris are happier under the Indian regime than they would be under Pakistan"—all the more so in view of Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammed's account of improved conditions, due to Mr. Nehru's inspiring leadership. Recent reports from unbiased observers confirm my impression that a change of regime would not serve the best interests of the people concerned.

The most plausible reason for holding a plebiscite is that the Kashmiris are said to be predominantly Moslems. As to this point, my impression fifty years ago—recorded in an old diary—was that most Kashmiris were Hindus or animists. However, that may be, there seems to me no reason why nationality should depend on religion. If this were so, Britain would be a curious anomaly, because the religions of its inhabitants are legion, and a growing number have no religion at all.

Unfortunately Mr. Nehru's neutral policy is unpopular among western politicians, who stubbornly insist that Communists are necessarily "aggressive" and must be kept at bay by anti-Communist military pacts. On the other hand, Pakistani leaders are regarded as more "friendly" towards the West, so that their claim receives sympathetic treatment.

As pointed out by Mr. R. Denton Williams (in a letter published by "The Daily Telegraph" on June 5, 1956) "the vast majority of Moslem citizens (in a plebiscite) would be swayed by the fanatical mullahs and so cast a vote which would not be in their best economic interests."

Yours, etc.,

C. E. COOKSON, C.M.G.

Smopting,
Sussex.

Sir.—Your very illuminating editorial contains the observations "Legally, India's is the weaker case," and ends with "whoever agrees with India's claim to Kashmir will find it extremely difficult to support her stand against the United Nations."

With due respect, we Kashmiris beg to disagree with the above views. For we know that the Security Council Resolutions dated January 24, 1957 and February 15, 1957, which latter is still under consideration (hereinafter referred to as the "present Resolutions") are a denial of the unconditional accession in October 1947 by the then legally constituted Government of Jammu and Kashmir, supported

also in October 1947 by the Kashmiri people's most powerful organisations, namely Jammu and Kashmir National Conference. Further, the present Resolutions altogether ignore the fact that Pakistan committed aggression in 1947/48. In addition the present Resolutions are a complete negation and reversal of the spirit and letter of the Resolutions of the United Nations Commissions dated August 13, 1948 and January 5, 1949. What does not appear to be appreciated is that the present Resolutions convert India from being an aggrieved party, which referred the matter originally to the Security Council, into an aggressor for which India is now being called and treated as a guilty party at the bar of the Security Council. The present Resolutions completely side-step the deliberate violation by Pakistan of the terms of the truce agreement.

The aforesaid Security Council Resolutions, if adopted as constituted at present, would deal a death blow to democracy for it would be within the jurisdiction of the President envisaged in the Resolution to recommend action which would endorse and enforce Pakistan's two-nation theory which in effect is a negation of democracy.

Do you wonder, sir, that we Kashmiri's wholeheartedly support Pandit Nehru in his stand against United Nations in this matter? Little wonder also that Pandit Nehru was distressed by the decision of the Security Council on January 24, 1957, for it was so dreadfully wrong.

Yours, etc.,

L. ZUTSHI
(Hon. Sec.)

Kashmiri Association of Europe
London, W.2.

DISAPPEARING CULTURES

Sir.—The article on "Disappearing Cultures" in the January issue is very interesting. Of course there are many small tribes in the world who, with their cultures, are doomed to extinction. In many cases it is due to interbreeding among themselves. I think, therefore, the best we can do is to make as many recordings of film and tape recordings as possible before it is too late.

However, there are many cultures in the world which are far from due to be exterminated by any natural law of evolution, but which are nevertheless being wilfully destroyed, e.g., one nation forcing its culture and way of life on another, the adopting of Latin letters for Asian languages, the adoption of western dress, and of western architecture and of western styles of music. In these ways many Asian and African peoples are wilfully destroying their own cultures and slavishly aping the ways of the white man.

Many people who are trying to keep their good customs and culture are called unprogressive and backward by those advocating westernisation. It is the westernists who suffer from an inferiority complex in face of western culture and so copy it because it is supposed to be "modern." The non-European cultures are well worth keeping and I hope that more and more non-European people will realise that before it is too late.

Yours, etc.,

A. R. B. ALI

Liverpool, 11.

LOADED DIPLOMACY

Sir.—In the paragraph headed "Loaded Diplomacy" under "Comment" in the February issue you go out of your way to load your arguments in favour of the Communists and against reason or commonsense. Admittedly American refusal to admit China to the United Nations is unreasonable and provocative, and there is a strange reluctance on the part of the western powers to give due consideration and weight to Indian opinion when forming their policy towards the East. But why should China expect to be consulted about a Suez settlement when she is neither dependent on the Middle East for oil, nor on the Suez Canal for her trade? Is not her chief reason for interference in Middle East affairs likely to be hostility towards the United States and the West?

You admit that, of the Middle Eastern countries, Turkey, Iraq, Iran and Pakistan have welcomed the "Eisenhower Doctrine" (and to these countries Saudi Arabia should now be added), but you go on to say that "the others have turned against it." Who are these "others"? Egypt, whose Dictator is bitterly hostile to the West; Syria, reported to be under the control of a military junta, with strong Communist sympathies; and Jordan, whose only "policy" seems to be implacable hatred of Israel! These are the countries through whom Russia, "backed for good measure by China" as you say, hopes to get control of the Middle East and its oil. Do you consider that America should stand by and let her do so?

Finally, you make the astonishing assertion that the peoples of Eastern Europe "are taking fresh courage from the Sino-Soviet alliance." Do you really believe that the people of Hungary, for example, were pleased to find that China made no protest against Russian brutality in their country? Or that the peoples of Russia's eastern satellites were pleased to find that their domination and denial of political freedom by Russia appeared to meet with Chinese approval?

Yours etc.,

LIEUT. COL. H. R. PELLY

Winchester,
Hampshire.

FROM ALL QUARTERS

Unesco helps with Laos education

The Kingdom of Laos is being helped by Unesco in reorganising its national system of education. A four-man mission from Unesco is working with the Laotian authorities in the project. Unesco is giving this assistance under its share of the United Nations Technical Assistance Programme. The mission is headed by Professor Kenneth Priestley, who is on leave from his post as head of the department of education at the University of Hong Kong. The special fields covered by members of the mission are school administration, fundamental education, and schooling from primary classes to higher education.

Mr. Dulles reiterates American stand on China

Last month Mr. Dulles said that it was premature, to say the least, for America to begin talking of recognising Communist China. He said at a press conference that it should not be forgotten that Communist China fought the United Nations "and the United States" in Korea and was largely responsible for 150,000 US casualties there. He also noted that the Chinese Communists had threatened the use of force against the island of Taiwan (Formosa). He also made the point that China still holds 10 American citizens in prison, and that Peking was conducting a propaganda campaign against America. The American Secretary of State was speaking after Senator Green, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, has said in a broadcast talk that Communist China should be recognised by America.

Far East Rural Youth Conference

About 150 delegates representing eleven countries of the Far East, including Japan, Korea, the Philippines, Thailand, Burma, Malaya, Indonesia, Cambodia, Laos, Viet Nam, and Nationalist China, met in Bangkok in February for the first Far East Rural Youth Conference. For twelve days they studied problems of training and organising rural youth in Asia.

South Pacific bamboo survey

Millions of Asian peoples today depend, as they have for centuries, on a rice and bamboo economy; rice for subsistence and bamboo for building, furniture making, and agricultural implements. With this in mind, the South Pacific Commission has arranged for a survey to be carried out in many Pacific territories where conditions appear suitable for bamboo cultivation. The Commission has secured the services of Dr. F. A. McClure, an expert on the cultivation of bamboo, and he hopes to undertake the survey this year.

Fish Farms for New Caledonia

The South Pacific Commission is encouraging fish farming in the Pacific region so as to provide a valuable supplementary food for islanders whose diets are now often seriously deficient in protein. Two experimental fish ponds have been established at the Port Laguerre farm training school near Noumea. They have been stocked with fingerlings flown from Manila in the Philippines. Of the three species imported, *Tilapia Mossambica* is at present the most

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favoured for fish farming in the Pacific. Of tropical origin, the tilapia is a hardy, fast-growing rapid-breeding pond fish that thrives equally well in fresh, brackish, or salt water.

President Sukarno's Russian aircraft

An Ilyushin twin-engined transport aircraft, which President Sukarno of Indonesia had accepted as a gift from the Soviet authorities during his visit to Russia last autumn, was formally handed over to him by the Soviet Ambassador to Indonesia in January. The plane will be maintained and serviced by the Indonesian air force.

Nepal's post and telegraph system

The Prime Minister of Nepal has said that his country intends to inaugurate her own post and telegraph system as a member of the Universal Postal Union on April 13th—which is the Nepalese New Year. The Prime Minister said that his Government had "tentatively decided" to take over the Indian Embassy Post and Telegraph office in Katmandu, which has for 50 years maintained the link between Nepal and the outside world.

At the same time Nepal is making arrangements for the introduction of Nepalese postage stamps operative in the international postal system. Up to now Nepalese stamps have been valid only as far as India.

Indonesia's educational progress

Figures published recently by the Indonesian Government show that in spite of many difficulties there has been a steady progress in education. Over 34,000 more children were attending primary schools in 1956 than in the previous year; 268 more schools were opened, bringing the total of primary schools throughout the country to 31,109. The number of teachers in these schools rose to 131,712—an increase of 18,096. During the same period 18,921 more pupils were

enrolled in state secondary schools and 8,569 more students started training in technical schools.

Ceylon Embassy in Moscow

Ceylon's Embassy in Moscow is due to be opened this month (March). Preliminary arrangements have been made, and Dr. G. P. Malalasekera, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt. (London), has been appointed as the first Ambassador. Dr. Malalasekera has hitherto been Professor and Head of the Department of Pali and Buddhist Civilisation, and Dean of the Faculty, at the University of Ceylon. He is also President of the World Fellowship of Buddhists.

India's sixteen-mile dam

The 16-mile-long dam on the Mahanadi River, opened in January by Mr. Nehru, will provide power for 100 million people in north-west India. The dam will regulate the flow of the river, which sometimes runs dry for years, causing widespread famine, or at other times erupts into disastrous floods. It will irrigate an area of more than a million acres of farmland, and produce electricity for industries in the region, including a large aluminium plant. When the project is completed in 1960, the dam will have a total capacity of 232,500 kilowatts of electric power.

Free from duty

In the past six years, Thailand has allowed some \$232,000 worth of educational, scientific and cultural materials to enter the country duty-free, under the Unesco-sponsored Agreement which exempts books, works of art, educational films and recordings and science equipment from import duties. Thailand's Government gave this estimate in a report to Unesco on the application of the Agreement since 1950. Altogether 24 countries are now operating the Agreement.

KASHMIR: THE PAKISTAN CASE—(Continued from page 25)

The Government of India and the Indian National Congress were in full agreement with this advice. The Indian States acceded to India or Pakistan in accordance generally with that advice. A dispute on the question of accession arose only in regard to three States, namely, Kashmir, Junagadh and Hyderabad. The stand taken by India was that a State with a majority of Hindu population must accede to India even if its Muslim ruler did not wish to do so. This, according to the Government of India, was the very basis of the Partition. It follows, therefore, that a State with a majority of Muslim population must accede to Pakistan, even though its Hindu ruler may decide otherwise.

The offer of "accession" of the State by the Maharajah to India, which was accepted by India, was invalid. It was made during the currency of a Standstill Agreement which the Maharajah had signed with Pakistan on August 15, 1947. It was against the known wishes of the majority of the population. Soon after Partition, the Maharajah's forces and the terrorist Hindu gangs he had imported from India, set out to exterminate and overawe the Muslim population. The Maharajah's forces were broken and scattered by the people of Poonch and a provisional Kashmir Government was set up to administer the liberated territory.

The question of Kashmir is not a question of the division

of spoils between India and Pakistan. The dispute is not a matter of apportioning of the "cheese" between the two countries, nor is it a matter purely of religion alone. As regards recent Indian charges it may be pointed out that Pakistan has abolished untouchability, and promulgated a democratic Constitution based on the British Parliamentary system which guarantees all fundamental rights to the citizens of Pakistan, irrespective of race, religion or creed. All citizens, Muslims and non-Muslims, are equal before the law and an independent Judiciary enforces these rights. Economic development alone is not a substitute for freedom. The basic issue is the inherent right of the people of Jammu and Kashmir to decide by a free and impartial plebiscite whether their State should accede to India or Pakistan.

The solution of the dispute is vital for the preservation of peace and stability in this region. It is the key to friendly and cooperative relations between India and Pakistan. Above all, it is a moral and human issue. The issue is: Should the inhabitants of Kashmir enjoy the right of self-determination which is their birthright? Should they be permitted to decide the question of the accession of their State in a free plebiscite. India herself is pledged to let them do so. Pakistan, too, is similarly pledged. That pledge has to be honoured.



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BOOKS on the

Japanese People and Politics by CHITOSHI YANAGA (Chapman & Hall, 60s.)

One of the most puzzling and controversial factors of Japanese political life is the emotional make-up of the Japanese which shows itself once the barrier of stoicism is lifted. It is this emotional trait which sustains the various practices and institutions, social, economic and political activities, and makes the Japanese so vulnerable to emotional appeals, indoctrination, didacticism and myths. As Dr. Yanaga points out in his valuable appraisal, Politics has for some time provided the Japanese with a legitimate arena as an outlet for the emotions not only of the representatives, but of the public as well, and as an alternative to violence it is serving a useful function as a safety valve. The strongly personal flavour of Japanese political life, where small groups centred around individuals, rather than large organised parties are its most outstanding characteristic, again reflect the apparent contradiction in the Japanese character—obedience on the one hand and emotional individualism on the other.

It takes an observer of Dr. Yanaga's calibre and background to give what is the first post-war systematic examination of Japanese government and politics. He is well qualified for this undertaking, since he brings to his first-hand knowledge of Japanese life a scholarly, detachment and the ability to present facts to form a comprehensive picture. Many interesting points are brought out; for instance, it is not generally realised that the Japanese people have had the longest experience of any Asian people in conducting their national affairs under a western type of government. The first election to the national legislature was held as far back as 1890 and since the inception of parliamentary government Japan has held altogether 27 general elections, compared with, say, India, whose first nation-wide election took place in 1952.

However, in political ideas and practices, westernisation has not proceeded as far or as deeply as a casual observer of the Japanese political scene usually concludes, especially when conclusions are based on physical manifestations. The truth, is, says Dr. Yanaga, such resemblances are only superficial, and many western concepts and practices have been so greatly modified to suit Japanese characteristics that they have been changed beyond recognition. Such borrowings are well known factors in Japan's social and cultural history, with its importations from India, China, Korea and other countries. Westernisation in Japan has gone very far where individuals are concerned, especially in their technological training, but there has been no appreciable transfer of scientific thought and attitudes into the realm of social relations.

Consequently, westernisation has been more successful in borrowing the forms rather than the spirit and national aspirations and political goals have frequently served as effective brakes. Thus the Japanese have mastered science and technology as well as many of the advanced nations of the West but the social ideas, structure and environment in which they have found application have not undergone sufficient changes to accommodate these technological advantages. The Japanese nation as a whole has remained conservative, perhaps because Japanese society has not really

THE FAR EAST

been subjected to penetrating stresses or upheavals. No foreign invader has ever foisted an alien culture on the nation, nor has there been anything comparable to the Renaissance which altered the nature of western society.

Japanese political ideas are compounded of various ingredients both old and new, eastern and western, but as yet there is no clear-cut distinction between state and society as in western political thought. The development of the various political parties, the constitutional structure and the position of the Emperor are consequently completely interwoven. According to Dr. Yanaga the Emperor is necessary emotionally to the Japanese, since in political life, on the national level, the most powerful force is sentiment and the most effective motives for sentiment are symbols. Japan, like any other nation, cannot exist without the sentiment of loyalty which nearly always is affixed to a symbol. A recent Unesco survey found that 74 percent of the youth of post-war Japan strongly "believe that the Emperor remains, at the very least, the symbol of the nation." This was a revelation to many western observers, particularly as the Emperor in a New Year's message in 1946 had denied any attribute of divinity. The efforts of the Occupation authorities to humanise the Emperor and remould the institution into something resembling the British constitutional monarchy were successful in a rather different way. According to the author, what actually happened was not the "devaluation," but rather the enhancement of the position and person of the Emperor—he was no longer too sacred to look at but appeared among the people.

In discussing the Allied reforms and their effect on Japan's national life, Dr. Yanaga says that there is no doubt that the experiment was successful in a number of respects, but it would be naive to assume that in the brief space of less than seven years the basic character, ideas and attitudes of the Japanese people, or their institutions or way of life could be so altered as to produce a democratic system of government, especially when during the latter half of the occupation a noticeable shift occurred in Allied policy, and security was given precedence over "democratisation" which was relegated to the background.

These brief references can do little but give some indication of the scope and thoroughness of Dr. Yanaga's study. He has covered every field necessary to the serious student of Japanese political life today, and has even included some chapters on less related subjects, such as Japan's relations with the outside world and her role in international affairs today—where, one feels he is on less sure ground and his conclusions are over-simplified.

K.F.M.

The Far East in the Modern World by F. H. MICHAEL and G. E. TAYLOR (*Methuen*, 50s.)

Modern histories of the Far East have been coming off the American academic production line almost annually since the war, but this is the first model for some years to be imported for the British market. It may be recommended as a dependable and comprehensive guide to the civilisations of the East and the immediate past of each country, a past that so profoundly affects their present relations with the western powers. It is important to understand this past in the last century, though one fears many

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Modern Burma, of which this is the first comprehensive study since independence, has many lessons to offer to the outside world. It is one of the few Asian countries which has begun to develop a dynamic alternative to Communism based upon 'Welfare' Socialism and the spiritual inspiration of Buddhism. Most of the material now presented has not appeared previously in print, and has not been available to the public, even in Burma.

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A. K. NARAIN

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western statesmen have taken decisions about the Far East in the blithest ignorance of its history and the memories and emotions that fill the minds of its leaders. Even Communists have memories. Stalin had not forgotten Russia's defeat forty years earlier when Russian armies swept into Manchuria in 1945. Events in China since the Opium War have been very much in the minds of Mao Tse-tung and Chiang Kai-shek. Though this is a formidable textbook-looking production of 724 pages, one hopes that all those responsible will do their homework.

The definition of the Far East adopted by Professor Michael and Professor Taylor includes what we now misleadingly call South-East Asia and is defined with some justice as the area of which China was at one time the centre. The authors admit that with the western withdrawal the cultural border between India and China is still visible, but in so far as they see the area as it is now being reshaped it is, in the words of the Preface, that after the late war "the Communist position was immensely strengthened by the conquest of China," and thus China is now "part of the Eurasian Communist orbit." A hasty judgment of this kind is all the more surprising when the propensity for an authoritarian system such as Communism is so well brought out in an excellent account of the evolution of the Chinese state: a bureaucracy whose task was to "uphold the ideology" and which never allowed any organised political opposition.

Perhaps one should conclude that neither China, however concerned to uphold the ideology—as the recent manifesto addressed from Peking to the whole Communist world suggests—nor Japan, whose pseudo-western imperialist

course from the last years of the Nineteenth Century ran into the sands of the 1945 defeat, has yet found its new equilibrium. The last sections of this book thus do little more than summarise the events which have filled our newspapers in recent years. It might have been better to stop short at 1949 rather than to give an inevitably one-sided view of events since then. This criticism does nothing to lessen the value of what has gone before which is thorough and balanced. Having said that one must look forward to some modern histories of each country. Even China, in the vital century from 1840 until the Communist rise to power, is covered by nothing more than Professor Latourette's short account in the Penguin series.

RICHARD HARRIS

The Borneo Story by HENRY LONGHURST (*Newman Neame*, 15s.)

Produced to mark the centenary of the Borneo Company, this account deals competently and, as might be expected, uncritically with the Company's history. A hundred years ago, Borneo was practically unknown and for the first fifty years of the Company's existence the average Englishman's knowledge of the country was limited to the existence of the head hunters—the "Wild Men of Borneo." Synonymous with the Borneo Company of course is the Brooke family—whose dynasty was so intimately interwoven with the Company. Outstanding among them was first Rajah Brooke of Sarawak whose shrewdness and tenacity laid the foundations for the fortunes of both concerns. The narrative wends its way through commercial undertakings, local history, commodities, personalities and mercantile adventures. The story

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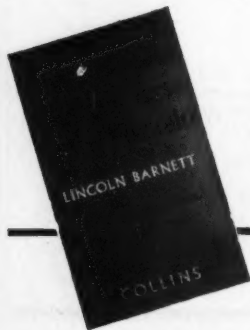
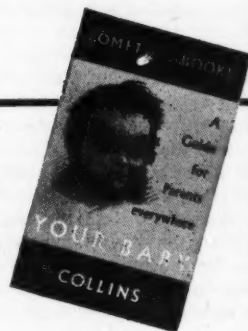
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is interesting, if only as an illustration of the flexibility and imaginative qualities of the British merchant a hundred years ago or less, characteristics which have apparently been lost today, although the opportunity for opening up such virgin territories as Borneo are much more restricted.

E.H.

I Lived in Burma by E. C. V. FOUCAR (*Dennis Dobson*, 21s.)

Burma, it appears, has always exercised a subtle charm on the empire builder, and Mr. Foucar was even more fortunate than most since he had the advantage of growing up there. His father was a teak merchant who had arrived in Burma while King Thibaw still ruled in Mandalay. Mr. Foucar, after his education in England, returned to Burma as a lawyer and remained there to see the end of British rule. The Rangoon of the old days before the war, which he describes without too much nostalgia, was a place of almost robust gaiety—race meetings, balls at the Gymkhana Club, and open hospitality at Government House, under the pleasant supremacy of Sir Harcourt Butler. Mr. Foucar enjoyed his work as a lawyer, since it brought him into closer association with the Burmese, for whom he shows a sincere appreciation and affection.

When he returned after the war, the old Rangoon had gone for ever, and with it the links with the older Burmese who were being quickly supplanted by those who had grown up in the nationalist movement.

S.K.

Agricultural Marketing in India (with special reference to Co-operative Marketing of Agricultural Produce in India), by K. R. KULKARNI (*Co-operators' Book Depot, Bombay, Rs.20*)

There is no more conservative individual anywhere than the man who tills the soil. The elements in which he works have remained unchanged since time began. They have suffered no change that has been perceptible to him, and they have imprisoned his outlook. Until recent years in the West, and still so in the East, he has sweated from sun-up to sun-down to wrest a bare living from niggardly nature. This fight has left him with no leisure to consider how the one variable factor in the situation—man himself—could be organised in order to make the other factors more fruitful. For centuries methods remained static, and even now over large areas of the East men are scratching the soil with wooden ploughs that have remained unchanged in any essential point over the last 4,000 years.

Even when, as in advanced countries, mechanisation has been adopted, the rotation of crops practised, fertilizers used to the fullest extent, the benefits of irrigation or drainage appreciated, and good strains purchased, there still remains the fact that the farmer—even a good farmer—is a technician: he is an expert in production, but has neglected the selling side. Yet his produce is of little use until it reaches the final consumer. Marketing is no easy matter: it is highly complicated in the modern world and requires aptitudes for which most farmers are not fitted by nature or training. After all, in no other large-scale industry is the worker expected to market the finished product. The problem of marketing, important everywhere, is vital to India with nearly three-quarters of its inhabitants living on agriculture and where the disparity in price between producer and consumer is larger than anywhere else in the world.

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It is with this in mind that this book has been written. It is the work of an Indian, and it examines the problems of marketing as it applies to India with the problems peculiar to that area, for instance, lack of an adequate transport system and imperfect dissemination of market news so that prices differ widely for the same product from district to district. As the Union has accepted the goal of a socialistic State, the author has given particular attention to the role of cooperative societies, and indeed goes so far as to recommend the replacement of private enterprise in marketing by cooperative principles. In an introduction, Dr. Rao, who is the Director of the Delhi School of Economics, makes the important point that men serving on cooperative committees will get the education and training in democratic discipline which is necessary in India.

In that country at the moment, it matters little which method is used so long as marketing is effected for the benefit of the grower and not for that of the money-lender into whose hands the peasant has fallen. In India nearly 25 percent of all rural credit is obtained from agricultural money-lenders and 44 percent from professional money-lenders. Thus nearly 70 percent of the loans required are obtained from these highly unsatisfactory sources. Loans are often granted on the condition that the produce is marketed by the lender, a procedure that lends itself to chicanery.

Cooperative credit agencies are not very successful either: they provide only 3 percent of the finance required. A Committee formed in India to study the finance aspect of marketing has suggested a shift of emphasis in the security asked from ownership of land to productive capacity, and this seems worthy of further examination. Volume I of this work, which is the one before us, deals with the principles of marketing. It describes in some detail the various forms this process takes, advertising, communications, produce exchanges, market risks, futures, explains the price mechanism, and even gives the gist of the Indian Sales of Goods Act.

As this is presented in non-technical language it provides a first-class background for all who are connected with agriculture, and particularly to students and teachers. It is, however, of the utmost importance to bear in mind that the productive side of farming must be improved simultaneously. Unless the most modern methods of husbandry are practised there may be very little to market. Volume II proposes to deal with the practical aspects of cooperation and of agricultural marketing.

L. DELGADO

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New Lives For Old

By Bertha Gaster

TWENTY-NINE years ago, in a primitive village of pile-dwellings set in the sea in the Admiralty Islands, not far from New Guinea, the death drums beat in every house. A handful of fuzzy-haired, brown-skinned boys, naked save for a twist of stuff round their loins, waved good-bye from their canoes to the white woman who was leaving them forever. She had arrived some six months before, who knew why or from where; she had asked hundreds of curious questions. Now the brown-skinned boys, Kapeli and Pomat and Kilipak and Lopeniu, rocked in their small canoes and watched her go.

Twenty-five years later the same white woman came back. She stepped ashore on the site of the new village, now built on land with "American-style" houses, all of the same design in careful rows, and among the crowd gathered in the darkness to greet her were four men in white ducks and drill suits, wearing ties and shoes, the responsible leaders of a new society. They were Stefan Posanget, Petrus Pomat, John Kilipak, and Johanis Lokus (Lopeniu), who had once been four little naked savages waving good-bye to her from a canoe.

The white woman was the anthropologist, Margaret Mead. In 1928, when she lived amongst them to make a study of child development in a primitive environment, a study which became the basis of her famous book *Growing Up in New Guinea*, the Manus had been a community of some two thousand savages, "their ear lobes weighed down with shells, their hands still ready to use spears, their anger implemented with magical curses, their morality dependent upon the ghosts of the recently dead . . . a people without history, without any theory of how things came to be, without any belief in a permanent future life, without any knowledge of geography, without writing, without political forms sufficient to unite more than two or three hundred people."

The story Margaret Mead came back to study in 1953, the story which takes shape in her latest book,* was the story of a people who had become "potential members of the modern world, with ideas of boundaries in time and space, responsibility to God, enthusiasm for law, and committed to trying to build a democratic community, educate their children, police and landscape their village, care for the old and the sick, and erase age-long hostilities between neighbouring tribes." Nothing was left of the old customs; the ghosts had gone, the charms, the magic, together with the whole of the former economic system, and with them had gone the old hostilities and angers. Even the ancient tribal knowledge of families and clans, now redundant, was confined to a few old women and Pokanau, the last of the former elders of the village. And "once Pokanau is dead no one will know."

How did it happen, this mental jump from the Stone Age to the twentieth century? Miss Mead attributes it to a conjunction of events. First came dissatisfaction of the young

men with the system of servitude to their elders, vague desires for something different. Then came contact with the million men of the US Army who poured through the Admiralty Islands base during the Second World War. For the first time the Manus came into friendly contact with whites in the mass, unconcerned with ruling, teaching, or employing them on a permanent basis, and were able to observe, again in the mass, the relations of whites with each other, with their wives, with the Manus themselves. "The Americans treated us like individuals, like brothers," they said. "From the Americans we learned that it is *only* human beings who are important." Other islanders—elsewhere—were learning the same lesson from the masses of friendly Australians they met in the same way, but the peculiarly balanced physical training of the Manus, in accurate movement and handling of objects, made them exceptionally interested in, and receptive to, the highly developed technical equipment and achievements of the whites. A short-lived mystical movement that followed the war led to a break with the missions and to the deliberate destruction of all their possessions. With everything that linked them to the past gone, the way was clear for Paliau, a native from the neighbouring island of Baluan, a man of outstanding ability with a flair for leadership and with sober and coherent plans for the modernisation of the community, to lead them in the "New Way" movement, when the men of Manus stepped into a new ethic and a fresh conception of the world.

This was not a movement slowly fostered by white officials and missionaries. It was the choice made by a primitive community, led by its own elected leaders, and carried out, apparently, with little or no active assistance. Women were emancipated; marriage was by free choice; a small unofficial local school was set up, painfully teaching some of the children to read and write; a small unofficial court administered local justice; one trusted man acted as an unofficial savings bank; village decisions were reached by meetings and open votes. Until the Australian authorities were able to grant a real council with real help, the Manus were working out their democratic way for themselves, slowly and with difficulty, asking advice on child feeding, on ways of schooling, or on marriage relationships, most difficult of all the new relationships to adapt and comprehend.

The night Margaret Mead left, when the people were dancing to honour her departure, and she had just heard that a council would be officially granted, they said: "Like an old turtle, you are going out into the sea to die, and we will never see you again." She answered: "Years ago, when I left you, you beat the death drums. There was no road. But now there is a road. Now you belong to the world. Now you can write to me and I can write to you. You can tell me how the council goes, what you do with your money in the bank, who dies and who is born, and how you rebuild the village."

* *New Lives for Old* by MARGARET MEAD (Victor Gollancz, 25s.)

ECONOMIC SECTION

JAPANESE TRADE WITH CHINA

By A Correspondent in Tokyo

NEARLY \$200,000 out of \$3 million are to be spent by Japan on promotion of trade with China, according to the new budget just presented to the Diet.

The Japan-China Import-Export Association, headed by Sabura Nango, for some years a spokesman of stronger ties between the two countries, will receive a sizable Government grant to open an office in China for market surveys, advertising, exhibitions and other trade promotion activities. In 1955, Japan imported from China \$81 million worth of goods, but sold only \$29 million in return. During 1956 Japanese imports remained on the same level, but her exports to China doubled and rose to approximately \$60 million. The fiscal year ending on March 31, 1957, will probably show an import surplus of only \$15 million, or less than one-third of the previous year.

Principal Japanese imports from China are coal, hides and skins, tung oil, salt, rice and oil seeds. The bulk of Japanese sales to China consists of chemical products, particularly chemical fertilizer. These shipments represent roughly half of Japan's exports to China. However, a spectacular increase has been achieved, during 1956, in the sales of light machinery. They reached four times the volume of 1955, textile machinery sales were six times as high as in 1955, sales of agricultural equipment trebled. Other items, such as three-wheeled cargo trucks, a familiar sight on all streets and roads in Japan, and office equipment also rose steeply.

This development took place while the embargo on shipments of strategic goods to China continued. It may be asked whether the trade volume grew because, or in spite of, these restrictions. Although increased commercial relations with China are an avowed aim of the present Government of Japan, it appears unlikely that Japan will cease to adhere strictly to the embargo provisions of the China Committee of the Consultative Group, an organisation with headquarters in Paris (CHINCOM). Since Japan regained her independence in 1952 when the occupation came to an end, she has consistently endeavoured to obtain relaxations of the CHINCOM embargo. Gradually, many of the restrictions have been lifted. For some time it has been a favourite past-time of Japanese exporters to argue that the embargo "paralyses" Japan's trade with China. Recent development, in the wake of Japan's general export boom, have shown the futility of the argument and of the criticism of the American attitude. Occasionally, the argument against the embargo has taken the form of the threat that Japan will have to pay more attention to China should the United States restrict Japanese imports—as it has been the case for certain cotton products, in a roundabout way. For the time being, however, this threat has not been taken too seriously by the Department of State. Japan today finds herself more dependent on the United States than on China, both as a buyer and as a supplier. For that reason, the Japanese

authorities are rather reluctant to risk embargo violations. They are apprehensive that the United States might cut off shipments of important raw materials required for the manufacture of exports to China. These apprehensions are all the weightier at a time when Japanese exports to the United States, during 1956, reached an all-time high of about half a billion dollars. This is a rise of 15 percent over 1955. Trade between Japan and the United States seems now to have settled at a certain level after the violent fluctuations which characterised the first post-war period. It seems unlikely that Japan would want to jeopardise these achievements by trade with mainland China—still considered by many as a dark horse.

However, the "400 million customers" of China are still beckoning while a saturation point in non-embargo shipments may be reached in some foreseeable future. This is the main reason for Japan's present effort in significantly increasing technical cooperation with China. Japanese engineers and technicians are to provide extensive assistance in the development of Chinese industries. CHINCOM regulations in the sphere of technical assistance are rather vague. There is, consequently, practically no limit to the extent of cooperation which Japan can give in China. Technical know-how is no less important for modern development than the actual shipment of capital goods. Japan will find, therefore, bright prospects in China.

Various private organisations are planning to enter the field of technical cooperation with China. They will start with agriculture. The cooperation will be based on the already successful export of farm implements to China and provide for the establishment of service centres. It is planned by the International Technical Cooperation Association (a Japanese organisation of capital goods manufacturers and exporters), the Japan Agricultural Machinery Industry Association and a number of other bodies. Professor Yorimi Kondo of the Agriculture and Industry University in Tokyo, an expert on rice plantation, and Professor Masayo Tamachi of Kyushu University, an authority on agricultural engineering, are scheduled to leave for China in April. Technical cooperation in the field of agriculture has received a special impetus by China's Five-Year Plan by which rice planting will be widely mechanised. Evidence for this trend was the substantial purchases of Japanese agricultural machinery and of farm implements exhibited last autumn at the Japanese sample fairs at Peking and at Shanghai.

It may be safe to anticipate that Japanese exports, bound by the provisions and prohibitions of CHINCOM, will certainly make the best possible use of the vast potential of technical cooperation and thus open a new trade route from Japan to China.

Note: In 1956, Japan's exports to Communist China were two and a half times greater than those of Britain.—Ed.

INDIA'S ATOMIC DEVELOPMENT

By A Special Correspondent in Bombay

DR. HOMI BHABHA, chairman of India's Atomic Energy Commission, outlined the future atomic development programme of India during the inauguration ceremony of India's atomic reactor at the Atomic Energy Establishment at Trombay (16 miles from Bombay) on January 20th.

Dr. Bhabha said that if India were not to lose further ground in the modern world, it was necessary to set up some atomic power stations in the coming five years which would produce electric power as well as plutonium which would serve as fuel for future power reactors. The problem was being studied in the Department of Atomic Energy in consultation with the Planning Commission and other ministries concerned and a decision was expected within the next few months.

Dr. Bhabha said that a plant to turn uranium salt into uranium metal had already been designed and was expected to come into operation by the middle of next year. (Uranium salt is produced at the establishment from uranium and thorium cake manufactures at the Alwaye Plant in south India during the processing of monazite sand). Heavy water, another chemical required in nuclear reactors to serve as a moderator, would also be manufactured in quantity, he said. The fertiliser plant to be set up at Nangal would produce 10 to 20 tons of heavy water a year. It was the Government's intention, he said, to produce heavy water in all the fertiliser factories to be set up during the Second Five-Year Plan. The Government was also studying erection of a plant to make atomically-pure graphite from coke produced in a refinery in Assam. Dr. Bhabha stated that it was also the Government's intention to erect plants for manufacture of beryllium and zirconium metals. India was the world's largest producer of the rare mineral beryl from which beryllium metal was obtained. Metal zirconium could be obtained from zircon sand found in the south-west coast of India. Both metals had important uses in advanced types of atomic reactors.


Dr. Bhabha stressed that in order to ensure steady supply of trained scientific and technical personnel, the Establishment was starting a training programme in June this year. Two hundred and fifty young graduates and engineers would be recruited annually from Universities and given supplementary training for a year to fit them for work in India's atomic energy programme. It was hoped to increase the intake of the training school to 350, in due course. The work of setting up the Canadian reactor had started in the Establishment in February last year. It is expected to be completed by the first half of next year. Erection of a third reactor had also been decided upon and it was expected to get it started also in the first half of next year. In fact this reactor might go into operation earlier than the second reactor offered by Canada, for which heavy water was required.

Prime Minister Nehru attended the inauguration ceremony and named the atomic reactor, which is the first

reactor in Asia outside the Soviet Union and named it "Apsara" (water nymph or a celestial dancer). This reactor is of "swimming pool" type and the name was given in view of the fact that the reactor utilised water for its working. This reactor went into operation last August, and Mr. Nehru expressed gratitude to countries which had helped India in her atomic energy development programme. He referred to Canada which is helping to set up a second reactor and to the help given by Britain, the United States and France. He also referred to the cooperation in this field with the Soviet Union "which, no doubt, will develop in the future."

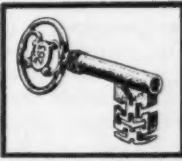
Mr. Nehru declared, that the Atomic Energy Establishment would not only help the Indian people but also serve as a centre where scientific knowledge and experience could be shared and training facilities offered to other countries, particularly to countries of Asia and Africa.

Dr. J. B. Schonland, Deputy Director of the Atomic Research Establishment at Harwell was among nearly one hundred foreign guests who attended the inauguration ceremony. The Atomic Energy Establishment at Trombay will provide the lead in the building of atomic power stations in India, and it is expected that the first atomic power station will be completed during the period of India's Second Five-Year Plan.



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HEAVY WATER IN INDIA

By N. W. Roberts

HEAVY water is a constituent of ordinary water, in which it occurs to the extent of one part in seven thousand. It was discovered about twenty-five years ago, and until the discovery of nuclear fission it was a scientific curiosity of considerable interest but of no practical value. When the first nuclear reactors came to be made, however, it was quickly found that heavy water is the best existing moderator.

Most nuclear reactors consist of a geometrical assembly of uranium rods surrounded by a moderator whose function is to slow down the fast neutrons which are ejected from the uranium on fission to a speed where they are most likely to cause further fissions when they again encounter uranium. This function is essential with natural uranium reactors (where the fissionable U235 is only present to the extent of one part in 140 in the more abundant U238) because fast neutrons are not nearly so efficient in keeping the reaction going as slow neutrons. Both heavy and ordinary water are very good at slowing neutrons down, but ordinary water has the property of absorbing neutrons and so wasting them. The wastage is so great that the high cost of extracting heavy water from ordinary water is justified by the smaller quantities of fuel which need to be used when heavy water is used as the moderator.

Many places in India would be capable of industrial development if they had power supplies at a suitable price, but the immense distances over which coal would have to be carried make its provision uneconomic at present. Such places are ideal sites for the installation of nuclear power stations. At present, however, there are few regions with sufficient industrialisation to support the large blocks of power which are necessarily generated by stations of the Calder Hall type. While there is still a bewildering variety of nuclear reactors, it remains true that the most suitable types use heavy water as a moderator.

The other reason for Indian interest in heavy water lies in the nature of the country's resources of nuclear fuels. There is indeed a small tonnage of uranium, which would be sufficient to support a moderate power programme for some time. But the major resource so far discovered is the vast quantity of thorium which lies in the monazite sands of the south. Thorium itself is not a fuel, that is, it is not fissionable. However, it is one of the class of materials which are known as fertile; by this we mean that when it is placed around a nuclear reactor, it can pick up the stray neutrons which would otherwise escape and be lost to the system, and absorb them, forming the fissionable isotope U233 in the process. Several types of reactor which use heavy water as moderator can be treated in this way, and can even be arranged to produce more fuel than they consume. They are known as breeder reactors.

Heavy water is, therefore, a material of potential importance in the Indian Atomic Energy programme, and the firm of Costain-John Brown prepared on behalf of the Government of India, a project report on the suitability of the various methods of producing heavy water and the extent

to which they could be applied in India. The first large scale production of heavy water was carried out in Norway and at Trail in Canada, the production in each case being associated with a fertilizer plant. It was, therefore, natural that the first Indian Heavy Water production should take place at the fertilizer plant which is being erected at Nangal in the Punjab.

In the second Five-Year Plan it is proposed to absorb some of the power which will be generated at Bhakra in a large fertilizer factory. The process used will be very similar to that used in Norway, and for the same reason; cheap hydro-electric power. As in Norway, heavy water will be made as a by-product. Heavy water is important to the Indian Atomic Energy programme because it will help to utilise efficiency the thorium which is there in such plenty.

The chosen site of the fertilizer factory lies on the west bank of the river, below the Nangal dam. It is flat land, typically Punjab, split into small banked fields, each carrying its different crop, maize, millet, gram, sugar, some fallow. These are the last crops which the land will carry; henceforward it will be devoted to increasing crops elsewhere, and in this way the land will be put to far more productive use. For India's land is capable of far greater productivity, and the dual keys to a bountiful food supply are irrigation and fertilizers; irrigation, in a land where the sun beats down on the parched land without intermission for nine solid months; fertilizers, in a land where they carefully save and dry every scrap of dung they can find—and burn it.

The flare of controversy and publicity which has surrounded the Aswan High Dam in Egypt has not touched Bhakra, for the Indian Government has not asked for such massive help from the West. But it is one of the proudest achievements of independent India. It was in 1906 that it was observed that at Bhakra, where the Sutlej river makes a great and unmistakable U-bend before bursting from the gorges of the Siwalik hills into the Punjab, there existed a unique opportunity for storing the flood waters of the monsoon and of the melting glaciers of the Himalayas so that they could be uniformly released throughout the year for irrigation and for power generation. But forty years went by before the techniques of civil engineering had advanced far enough to build a safe dam on this foundation of rotten, cleft, and splintered rock. The worst of the rock has been blasted into rubble and carted away. In what remains, the clay has been washed out to great depths from the clefts and fissures, with great, snaky high pressure water hoses; and then more hoses have been brought to squirt in concrete under high pressure. Upon the solid rock foundation thus man-made, the great dam now slowly rises. They started work on this scheme in 1946; they started pouring concrete in 1955; and for 24 hours a day, for seven days a week, for 52 weeks in a year, they will go on pouring until late 1959, when the dam is scheduled for completion. To what purpose?

When it is finished, the Bhakra dam, 700 feet high, 1,500 feet wide at the top, will be the highest dam of its type in the world. Its completion will mark the culmination of India's most spectacular river valley project, which will

The writer is an executive of Costain-John Brown Ltd.

have cost £130 million, and will benefit countless peasants in the Punjab, Pepsu and Rajasthan. It will create a lake covering 50 square miles, and the stored water will irrigate an arable area of ten million acres, besides generating 400,000 kW. of electricity.

It takes nearly seven hours to travel up by car from Delhi, averaging 48 miles an hour along the straight, tree-lined road, with a stop for a meal at Chandigarh. This way one gets a better impression of the scale of the system of irrigation canals which branches out from Bhakra. The canals are already complete and so is the Nangal dam which will collect the stored waters of the Sutlej, and is already impounding a part of the river's flow. From the small lake which the dam creates, the waters are diverted into the Nangal Hydel channel, which runs its angular course 40 miles south to Rupar. Here the precious water is diverted into subsidiary channels which feed the land. Imagine a concrete channel the size of the Isis, marching on over the country, crossing innumerable nullahs and rivers, sometimes under, and sometimes over. The sheer physical labour of excavating this enormous channel transcends thought. The speed at which the water rushes along the channel, so much deeper than the Thames at any point, lends life to the dull statistic that the flow in this channel is greater than the average flow over Teddington weir.

At Nangal, where the Hydel channel begins, the level of the water is well below the surrounding countryside. And in a channel of this sort, the level of the water does not drop much along its length. Gradually the land falls away as the miles float on, until at Ganguwal the banks of the canal

tower above the surrounding landscape. And here there is a small power station. The water is let down gently in turbines, giving up its energy to the great alternators, so that the level of the channel is brought into a better relation with the lie of the land. From here the land falls away again until at Kotla, the banks have reared up again, and another power station is necessary. There are eight thousand workers on the Bhakra dam, and the Nangal township has been built to house them and their families. Laid out on cantonment lines, with sharply demarcated neighbourhood units, it is a self-sufficient place in which to live in which everything has been thought of. The temple is fitted with a loudspeaker system which relays the services to the whole camp.

It is best to see the dam at night. The whole quarter-mile square is brilliantly lit, and from the hillside a thousand feet above the valley floor, the men below seem like ants. The valley floor is dry because the river has been diverted through two-mile long tunnels of fifty feet diameter, and the water is kept out of the workings and forced to flow through the tunnels by earth dams at either end. During the monsoon this year the flood waters were very heavy, and the waters rose behind the earth dams. Such was the force of the pent-up water that at their lower ends the water was rushing from those gigantic drainpipes at more than fifty miles per hour. Night is best because the tunnel mouth looks so dark and mysterious against the brilliant lighting of the site, and because of the star-like twinkles of the welding torches, and the graceful pyrotechnics of the oxy-acetylene cutters. These are no ants; they are men, all busy working to a prepared plan; they are building the new India.



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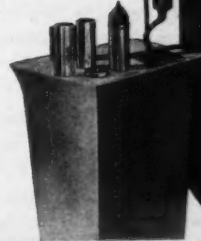
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WINGS ACROSS ASIA

By Our Special Correspondent

IT is only 33 years ago that Britain's planners—appreciating that air communications to distant parts of the world were vital—created Imperial Airways, a predecessor of BOAC, with the object of providing fast and efficient air services to and from Britain and the East, thus helping to cement Britain's relations with the countries of the Orient.

Not until 1927, however, was Imperial Airways able to offer its first through service from Britain to the Far East—and that route then went only as far as India. Therefore, it is good now to contemplate the vast changes that have taken place in air travel in the past 30 years and the solid progress achieved in that short space of time.

Thirty years hence we shall be close to the end of the twentieth century, when supersonic airliners, possibly propelled by atomic or some other power, may well bring almost any place in the Far East to within perhaps a few hours of Britain. Nowadays, BOAC's fast modern airliners fly from Britain to places even as far away as Tokyo in a little over three days. Before the war—only 18 years ago—no such service was operated by a British airline and in 1927 twelve days were taken for the journey from London to Delhi—only half the distance. Before the coming of the aeroplane it was an arduous voyage of some weeks' duration.

Meanwhile, Constellation and Argonaut airliners, which at present operate on BOAC's routes to the Far East, are soon to be replaced by the large, comfortable and smooth-riding turbo-propeller aircraft, the Bristol Britannia, which first went into commercial passenger service when it started to fly on scheduled operations from Britain to South Africa at the beginning of last month (February). The Britannia will be seen at some points in the Far East from this month onwards, when it begins to operate between Britain and Australia, and it is intended that later this year it shall serve routes to Hong Kong, Singapore, Tokyo and Colombo as well as to Aden.

Nothing but praise for the aircraft has been received from passengers who have already had the opportunity of flying in it. They admire the aircraft's speed, comfort, lack of vibration and the fact that it is so quiet in flight—in a word, it has very strong "passenger appeal." The Britannia, which is powered by four Bristol Proteus 705 turbo-propeller engines, derives its driving force from jet efflux as well as propellers, and promises to be one of the most economical airliners to have been operated by BOAC. It cruises at approximately 350 mph and will normally operate at heights of about 25,000 feet at an all-up weight of 155,000 pounds. Each of its four engines develops 3,900 ehp and with 6,800 gallons of fuel in its wings the Britannia can fly a payload of 25,000 pounds a still-air distance of 3,350 statute miles.

At the time of writing six aircraft of this type have been delivered to BOAC out of the 15 on order, and as more become

available and flying staff are trained, so Britannia services to other parts of the world—including the Far East—will be opened up. Later this year BOAC expects to receive the first of 18 Britannia 312s—the long range version—which will be used on trans-Atlantic routes. This aircraft should start scheduled operations within the next 12 months.

Another aircraft recently delivered to BOAC is helping to maintain Britain's link with the East (though in a somewhat indirect way)—the Douglas DC-7C. This airliner is at present operating on BOAC's route from London to New York and in April that route is to be extended to San Francisco, where it will link up with trans-Pacific services from Australia, operated by QANTAS Empire Airways. Thus will the first Commonwealth round-the-world route be forged by the two airlines in cooperation with each other and it will then be possible to fly westabout to the East without using the aircraft of foreign carriers. BOAC's long-term planning includes provision for the operation of two round-the-world routes and so that plan will come partially to fruition with the application of DC-7Cs to the San Francisco service.

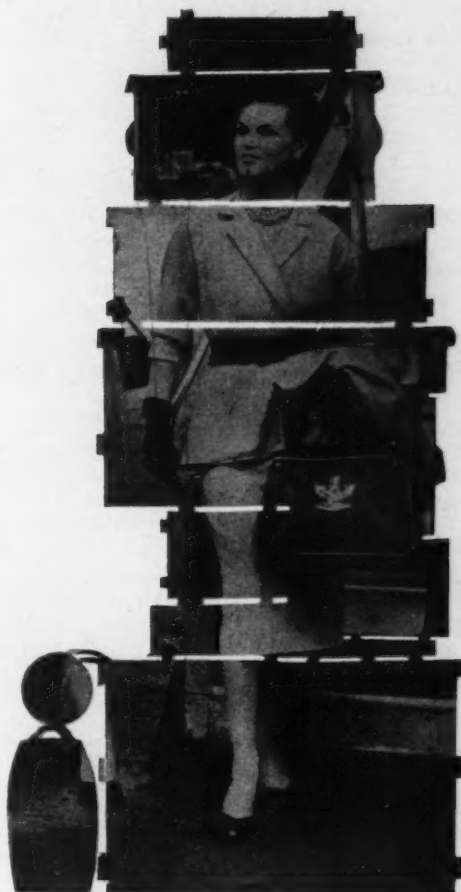
The other world service would take a more northerly route. After crossing the Atlantic from Britain this route would traverse Canada and fly onwards to Japan. There it would join up with present BOAC routes and return to the UK by way of India, Pakistan and the Middle East. Towards the end of this decade two new types of extremely fast pure jet aircraft will appear on BOAC routes and will bring points in Asia still nearer to Britain. These are the de Havilland Comet IVs, of which the Corporation is to have 19, and the Boeing 707, of which 15 have been ordered.

The Comet IV is expected to be flying on BOAC routes eastwards from Britain in 1959. It is to be powered by four Rolls-Royce Avon RA.29 engines, which will enable it to cruise at speeds approaching 500 mph, carrying up to approximately 70 passengers. Britannias have already cut schedules on the South African route; will soon be doing so on services to Australia and the Far East; and Comets are likely to bring about even greater reductions in journey time. Indeed, it is probable that no part of the Far East will be more than 48 hours' travelling time from London—even less.

Boeing 707s are intended for BOAC's trans-Atlantic routes but it is also planned, subject to Government approvals, that they should fly a westabout route from Britain over the North Atlantic, the USA and the Pacific to Australia. Thus, passengers from Britain to the Orient will have the choice of alternative high-speed routes and will be able to leave Britain by one and return by the other, stopping off at any of the places en route to conduct business and meet associates. Beyond that, who can yet say what the exact form of the aircraft of the future will be? BOAC, of course, looks forward with confidence to the years ahead and already is

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discussing with British manufacturers its needs for the next generation of aircraft. Such an aircraft will be required to enter passenger service in 1962 and must have acceptable economics and outstanding performance.

Even more advanced will be the airliner that is envisaged in talks between Government authorities and British aircraft manufacturers who are currently conducting research into a project that should culminate in a supersonic aircraft. No details have been released so far by the British Ministry of Supply, which is coordinating the effort, but it is anticipated at present that the aircraft will be capable of speeds at least in the region of 1,100 mph. However, much research would be needed before such a project could materialise and it is improbable that the finished product would emerge from the factory in less than 10 to 15 years' time. Science has enabled fighter aircraft to break through the sound barrier but as yet this has not been achieved with larger types.

Certainly many problems arise in man's ceaseless quest for speed in air transport. In the 38 years that have passed since Britain's first efforts in providing regular air passenger transport, speeds have increased almost sevenfold. Another 38 years will take us nearly to the end of the century, by which time present-day speeds may well seem to be very slow and inter-planetary travel may be commonplace.

Thus, swifter travel should bring even stronger links between the nations of the world; and BOAC, which has always played an important part in the development of relations between East and West, intends that air communications shall be still further extended and improved.

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British Aircraft Industry Exports

UK aircraft industry has increased its exports considerably and in 1956 the exports of aeroplanes, airships, balloons and parts (excluding engines and electrical parts and appliances) reached the value of £ 71.8 million as against £ 39.7 million during 1955.

In 1956 Australia was the second largest individual market of this industry (the first being the United States), and the exports to that country, which amounted to £ 23 million in 1955 increased to £ 11 million in 1956.

The 1956 exports included those to India valued at £ 1.2 million, Pakistan — £ 0.5 million, Ceylon — £ 0.1 million, New Zealand — £ 1.3 million, Burma — £ 0.1 million, Indonesia — £ 0.1 million and Japan — £ 0.1 million.

Extension of Swissair Network

Swissair will open a new route from Europe to the Far East on April 23rd. It will extend from Zurich and Geneva to Tokyo. Intermediate points served will be Athens, Cairo or Beirut, Karachi, Bombay, Bangkok and Manila.

Initially it will be flown once weekly in each direction, starting eastbound from Switzerland on Tuesday afternoons and westbound from Tokyo on Friday evenings. In July a second weekly flight will be introduced, leaving eastbound on Fridays and westbound on Mondays, stopping at Calcutta instead of Bombay. DC-6B aircraft will be used, providing first and tourist class accommodation.

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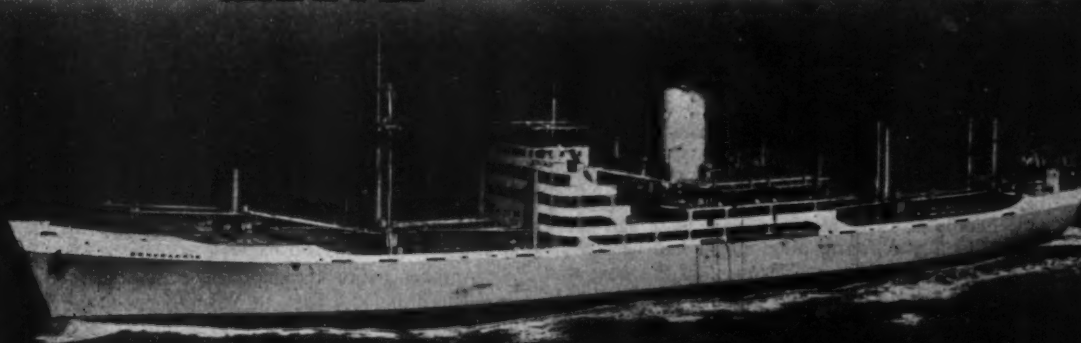
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By Zafarul Ahsan (General Manager of PIA, Karachi)

AIR Transport is the only tangible bond between the two wings of Pakistan and it has proved vital as an agent of our socio-political evolution and economic progress. No other nation perhaps depends on it for its existence to such a great extent as we do. We in Pakistan International Airlines are sensible of this tremendous responsibility and all our thoughts, plans and efforts are directed to maintaining a continuing process of development of the air transport system to meet the expanding needs of the country.

In the beginning of 1956, PIA was passing through a critical phase. There was then an acute world shortage of Super Constellation spare parts and in terms of time we were removed by several months from our source of supply. Though our stocks could not be said to be inadequate, our operational position was yet very difficult as we had to send aircraft engines for overhauls to Europe, which meant a time lag of 2 to 3 months. It was, therefore, essential that



PIA pilot undergoing a test at Karachi Airport

demanded that operators who had been working for years should be trained in new methods. Yet PIA was able to make substantial progress in nationalising its personnel, and only a few foreign experts are now employed in all departments of Pakistan International Airlines.

Traffic in 1956 was on the increase. PIA opened new routes and increased frequencies on many sectors. Karachi-Bombay flights were made daily. Between Karachi and Lahore there are now nine Convair flights in a week and a daily flight between Lahore and Rawalpindi. By re-scheduling, we have provided passengers between Karachi and Dacca a daily service on this route with five non-stop flights and two via Lahore. The number of passengers on the East-West Pakistan route last year was 33,500.

How far a national airline is a social and economic requirement of Pakistan will be borne out by the fact that expanded air services on all domestic routes have noticeably affected the country's economy and improved the trade outlook. For instance, ever since special reduced rates for bulk shipments of different commodities between East and West Pakistan were introduced early in 1956 the average monthly loads registered an increase of 640 percent in the case of fresh fruit, 80 percent in hosiery, 54.5 percent in drugs and medicines and 93.3 percent in hides and skins.

International operations to Europe continued successfully throughout. The new stop at Geneva gave a certain flexibility to our route which attracted more traffic to various destinations on the Continent. We were compelled on account of political difficulties in the Middle East to change our scheduled route through Cairo and divert our services through Baghdad and Rome. This sudden change confronted us with many problems which have now been overcome. Plans to operate a second service to Europe are now ripe and all being well PIA hopes to start operation of this service this spring.

In terms of monetary benefits the effect of PIA's expanded operations is visible in the saving of foreign exchange. Presently PIA's international services will save the country nearly Rs.700,000 every month. Until September 1956, PIA has been operating under a guarantee whereby all its losses were made good by the Government. The directors decided not to ask for an extension, as the national airline is now firmly on its feet.

Another major development in 1956 was the decision to re-equip the PIA fleet. In order to cope with the demand for increased frequencies and to secure economies in operation, PIA has placed an order for 5 Viscount turbo-prop airliners for use on its domestic and regional routes. At the same time PIA has given consideration to the replacement of the Super Constellation fleet by 1960. The Super Constellation which is now among the world's finest airliners, will be relegated to the rear by the faster and more economical long-range jet aircraft, which will reduce flying time between Karachi and Dacca from 5½ hours to just over 3 hours, while the cost of transportation per passenger will be reduced from Rs.403 to Rs.310. These aircraft will also offer a larger carrying capacity of 60 percent.

PIA's Engineering Shops should be developed at a rapid pace. By the middle of 1956 the Engineering Base had taken shape and the first Super Constellation engine had been overhauled in our own shops. The establishment of this base was a heavy financial burden, and also entailed a large scale training programme involving considerable expenditure in training ground engineers and other technical staff. Now, Super Constellation engine overhauls and test runnings are done in PIA's workshops at Karachi.

Another problem at the beginning of last year was the paucity of trained technical personnel for our expanding operations. The whole programme required money and time. After successfully completing their training the personnel have to gain experience, for in airline operation there is no substitute for it, and experience can only be gained over a period of time. Apart from this the standards of safety and efficiency and new procedures and developments

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INDIA'S TRADE WITH SCANDINAVIAN COUNTRIES

INDIA has an unfavourable trade balance with Scandinavian countries and in 1956, due to increased imports from that area, the unfavourable trade balance increased considerably compared with 1955.

The following table shows the development of India's trade with these countries:

	India's exports		India's imports	
	1955	1956	1955	1956
	(Six months—April to September)			
Finland	1.8	2.1	11.6	12.9
Sweden	6.1	6.7	37.5	61.7
Norway	4.2	2.0	14.7	15.8
Denmark	10.4	9.2	18.3	24.9

(All figures in million Rs.)

The Scandinavian paper manufacturing industries accounted for an important part of their country's exports to India. These exports during the half year April to September 1956 included packing and wrapping paper from Sweden valued at Rs.6.8 million (as against Rs.4.1 million during the corresponding period of 1955), and from Norway valued at Rs.2.5 million. During this period of 1956 India's imports of printing paper from Finland amounted to Rs.10.4 million, Sweden Rs. 2.2 million and Norway Rs.3.8 million. In addition the import of paper making material (pulp, etc.) from Sweden was valued at Rs.8.8 million.

Imports of provisions from Denmark increased from Rs.5.6 million in the half year (April-September 1955) to Rs.7 million during the corresponding period of 1956. India also increased her imports of hardware from Sweden which reached the value of Rs.2.2 million during the half year in 1956.

Among other important items imported by India were iron and steel goods, including nails, rivets, etc., from Sweden and Norway, and cement from Denmark.

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SWEDEN'S TRADE WITH ASIA AND THE FAR EAST

	Imports		Exports	
	Jan.-Nov. 1955	1956	Jan.-Nov. 1955	1956
	(In million kronor)			
Afghanistan	1.3	0.3	0.1	0.9
Pakistan	13.2	10.6	29.9	20.5
India	22.2	21.8	70.4	121.8
Ceylon	11.7	14.2	4.5	6.4
Burma	3.0	2.4	5.4	11.9
Thailand	5.2	7.1	10.5	11.1
British Malaya	78.6	70.6	13.7	17.5
Indonesia	35.5	27.9	30.6	36.5
China	11.2	11.3	8.3	25.0
Formosa	0.4	0.3	1.2	3.0
Hong Kong	6.3	6.9	12.6	14.5
Japan	67.9	74.6	17.3	31.3



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SWEDISH CEMENT AND SUEZ

EXPORTS of CEMENTA, the Swedish Cement Sales Corporation, to the Middle and Far East during 1956 did not develop according to expectations as compared with 1955. The total export in 1955 amounted to about 344,000 tons, whereas it was only about 289,000 tons in 1956. Following is an extract of statistics of the main countries to which the products were exported in the two years in question:—

	1955	1956
Turkey	8,128	—
Saudi Arabia	50,495	53,815
Kuwait	104,954	79,495
Qatar	—	7,837
Bahrein	—	3,100
Pakistan	22,497	—
Burma	2,470	915
Thailand	7,312	—
Indonesia	1,400	—

The above figures refer to the sales of CEMENTA; they represent 85 percent of the Swedish production capacity. At the beginning of 1956 there was no reason to believe that the year would not be considerably better than the previous one, and preparations were in hand to meet the expected demand of various markets. As the firm was particularly well established in certain Arab countries a considerable increase in tonnage was calculated for the Middle Eastern area. However, partly because of the severe winter in the Baltic during January and February 1956, which presented difficulties in obtaining shipping space, and partly on account of the Suez crisis which occurred later—which made prices prohibitive—the result became worse than expected. Taking into consideration these two important factors CEMENTA consider that exports to destinations east of Suez were satisfactory.

It can be seen from the above statistics that the Qatar and Bahrein markets took a bigger tonnage than ever before, and CEMENTA claim that their product enjoys a very good reputation in all markets. A noticeable point, and one which is very important with a commodity like cement, has been the very low breakage figure of cement bags.

It is too early to give figures regarding estimated quantities for export in 1957. Much will depend upon the clearance of the Suez Canal. Even if the Canal was navigable towards the middle or end of March there will remain certain political complications and risks. But there are still prospects for delivering by no means unimportant quantities of cement before the end of the present building season in Arab countries. Should the Canal be cleared in a reasonably good time the firm of CEMENTA are confident that exports to countries like Ceylon, Burma, Indonesia, and possibly the Philippines can be restarted, and increased.

Danish help for India

According to the members of the Danish trade and goodwill mission to India, Denmark is anxious to assist in India's industrial and agricultural developments, envisaged in the second five-year plan.

The delegation pointed out that Denmark, in addition to supplying capital equipment, including machinery, for the dairy industries, rolling stock, tractors, as well as milk products and canned goods, could also assist India's economic development by supplying technical "know-how" to India. There are possibilities for Denmark's cooperation in the manufacturing of dairy machinery and of Diesel engines in India.

While the mission's aim was not to conclude a trade agreement but to explore possibilities for increased economic and trade relations, it is felt that the visit was of great value to the development of these relations.

In addition to Denmark's increased exports to India, the question of India's exports to Denmark was also discussed. It is expected that negotiations between individual Danish industrial and trading firms with Indian authorities and businessmen will follow to achieve a further increase in trade between the two countries.

NORWAY'S TRADE WITH ASIA AND THE FAR EAST

	Import		Export	
	1955 Jan.-Oct.	1956 (In 1,000 kroner)	1955 Jan.-Oct.	1956
China ...	9,956	16,471	86	8,521
Philippines ...	33,645	31,460	1,020	1,276
Indonesia ...	12,320	7,588	14,745	10,742
Japan ...	18,879	11,965	1,143	2,932
Thailand ...	2,969	5,375	6,016	4,166
Burma ...	1,144	1,183	3,432	3,591
Ceylon ...	2,039	1,425	3,368	3,528
India ...	13,645	15,566	40,588	54,547
Pakistan ...	2,489	2,713	4,853	7,367
Hong Kong ...	2,467	5,900	6,136	7,742
Malaya and Singapore ...	19,526	18,847	8,231	28,695
Australia ...	9,371	10,451	73,028	63,430
New Zealand ...	2,762	1,857	13,002	11,544

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DENMARK'S TRADE WITH ASIA AND THE FAR EAST

	Import		Export	
	1955 (1 year)	1956 (11 months)	1955 (1 year)	1956 (11 months)
Australia	5,240	3,640	19,581	10,219
Afghanistan	—	315	69	142
Ceylon	4,284	4,697	2,261	2,357
China	1,100	9,044	452	20,915
Malaya	5,668	4,885	28,832	34,653
Indonesia	4,825	13,261	14,714	11,498
India	17,867	15,633	25,412	31,798
Formosa	204	313	543	1,071
Hong Kong	7,238	6,296	7,587	7,291
Pakistan	2,867	5,336	6,395	4,197
Japan	38,900	37,844	3,563	15,521
Philippines	49,064	46,465	2,813	2,845

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Selling Britain's Wool

IN 1956 Britain's wool industry scored new successes in the export field. Wool top exports reached a new post-war record of 81.6 million lb., representing an increase of 5 million lb. as against 1955. It is significant, that this increase was mainly due to larger shipments to Asian and Far Eastern markets. A survey of the last five years' export shows the following development of Britain's total export of wool tops and the share of the Asian markets:—

UK total exports: 1952-54 million lb., 1953-70.2 million lb., 1954-67.1 million lb., 1955-76.6 million lb., 1956-81.6 million lb.

including to China which developed to the largest individual market:

1952-2.2 million lb., 1953-6.2 million lb., 1954-7.3 million lb., 1955-12 million lb., 1956-12.5 million lb.

to India, the former largest market in Asia—which has been steadily increasing: 1952-7.9 million lb., 1953-9.5 million lb., 1954-10.2 million lb., 1955-10.4 million lb., 1956-11.7 million lb.

to Japan which has been developing its woollen industry and where, according to the latest reports, the requirements of raw wool and wool tops are likely to increase further:

1952-1.7 million lb., 1953-1.9 million lb., 1954-0.6 million lb., 1955-2.6 million lb., 1956-4.1 million lb.

The exports to Pakistan increased from 1.2 million lb. in 1952 to 2.5 million lb. in 1955, and to 2.8 million in 1956.

The exports to Formosa which were negligible in the former years amounted to 0.7 million lb. in 1954, to 0.6 million lb. in 1955, and to 0.7 million lb. in 1956. The exports to Hong Kong show a certain fluctuation, but represent an important share of the total exports. They amounted to 2.5 million lb. in 1952, 1.3 million lb. in 1954, 2.1 million lb. in 1955, and 1.5 million lb. in 1956.

The 1956 exports of woollen and worsted yarns of 24.8 million lb. were 2.4 million lb. higher than those of 1955 and included exports of worsted yarns to India (0.2 million lb.), Hong Kong (0.9 million lb.), New Zealand (1.2 million lb.), and Japan (0.3 million lb.). The 1956 exports of woollen and worsted fabrics amounted to 104.3 million sq. yards, showing an increase of more than 2 million sq. yards as against the 1955 exports, including exports to New Zealand, Australia, Hong Kong, India, Pakistan and Japan.

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TRADE, FINANCE AND INDUSTRIAL NOTES

British Textile Equipment for Pakistan

An offer to provide £120,000 worth of books and equipment to the Dacca Institute of Textile Technology, made by the United Kingdom Government under the Colombo Plan, has been accepted by the Government of Pakistan. This offer follows a visit made last year to the Dacca Institute by Professor W. E. Morton of the Faculty of Textile Technology, Manchester University and Mr. G. A. Bennett, Head of the Textile Department of the Royal Technical College at Salford. Their services were made available by the United Kingdom Government under the Colombo Plan Technical Cooperation Scheme to investigate the training provided by the Dacca Institute and to advise the Government of Pakistan on the need for Diploma courses in both cotton and jute manufacture and on the suitability of the curricula provided by the Institute.

This will be the largest single gift yet made by the United Kingdom Government of training equipment and will bring to close on £1½ million the value of equipment provided from the United Kingdom's contribution to the Colombo Plan Technical Cooperation Scheme.

Laboratory equipment for the Indian Government's Central Potato Research

Institute at Patna is also being provided by the United Kingdom Government and an order has been placed for apparatus costing £2,000.

US Firm to Build Pakistan Dam

Another major step towards completion of one of the largest single economic projects undertaken in Pakistan—a multi-purpose dam in East Pakistan which will eventually represent an investment of \$68 million—has been announced by the International Cooperation Administration. It is the signing of a \$30.5 million contract between the Government of Pakistan and Utah Construction Company for completing construction of the dam and a hydro-electric plant on the Karnafuli River, 30 miles upstream from the port of Chittagong on the Bay of Bengal.

With an initial capacity of 80,000 kW. and an eventual capacity of 120,000, the Karnafuli project will be a source of low-cost power for industrial and home use, will improve flood control measures on the Karnafuli River, and provide water storage for irrigation and improved navigation.

The \$30.5 million Karnafuli contract represents \$24.5 million in foreign exchange for imported materials, equipment and services, and the rupee equivalent of \$6 million in local costs.

A total of \$12.7 million in US Mutual Security funds has been ear-marked for the project, including \$3.5 million to finance an engineering contract awarded last June to the International Engineering Company with offices in San Francisco. Pakistan has already spent the rupee equivalent of more than \$10 million for equipment, river diversion and initial work on the dam, and today's agreement brings that country's total commitment to the rupee equivalent of \$16 million.

Pakistan's Nuclear Research

The first meeting of the Pakistan Atomic Energy Commission was held in Karachi recently. At the outset, the Chairman of the Commission, Dr. Nazir Ahmad, gave an account of his recent visit to the USA, Canada and the UK. The Commission decided that the highest priority should be given to the early establishment of the Institute of Nuclear Research and Reactor Technology of Pakistan, and the installation of a research reactor in the Institute.

The Commission was strongly of the view that owing to the ever-increasing importance of atomic energy and its wide field of application, the research reactor should be of an up-to-date type, capable of being used not only for training and the production of a wide range of radio-

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isotopes, but one which would also enable Pakistani scientists to undertake original investigations. It was decided that preliminary work on survey and choice of a suitable power reactor for East Pakistan should be taken in hand as soon as possible. It was further decided that, pending the installation of a reactor in Pakistan capable of producing radio-isotopes, work in the application of these isotopes in the field of agriculture, health and basic sciences, should be pushed forward with imported radio-isotopes.

Giant P. & O. Liner for Australia Run

A new 45,000-ton P. & O. liner—biggest ship to be built in the UK since the "Queen Mary" and "Queen Elizabeth"—is expected to be on the UK-Australia run towards the end of 1960. She will cost about £12,000,000 to build. This was announced by the Chairman of the P. & O. Company, Sir William Currie, at a press conference recently.

The new ship—at present known simply as "1621"—will also take part, in conjunction with the proposed new Orient Line ship "Oriana," in an extended service from Sydney to Auckland, San Francisco and Vancouver.

The ship's service speed of 27½ knots will enable the UK-Sydney run to be made in three weeks, as against four weeks at present. With a draft of 31ft. 6in., she will be able to negotiate both

the Suez and Panama Canals. Height from waterline to navigating bridge will be 90ft. Beam will be 102ft. An order for the new ship will be placed with Messrs. Harland and Wolff Ltd., of Belfast, and it is expected that the 814ft. keel of the vessel will be laid in September of this year.

Japan's Cotton Industry

Reflecting the worldwide business prosperity, both production and exports of cotton yarn and textiles attained extremely high levels in 1956, and are expected to continue to rise in the first three months of this year, the All Japan Cotton Spinners Association recently reported.

According to the report, production of cotton yarn during the October-December period of last year reached 705,908 bales (1 bale=400lb.), and consequently the total output in 1956 set a post-war record of 2,543,980 bales. On the other hand, output of cotton textiles during the same period aggregated 888,571,000 square yards, and the total production in 1956 established a post-war record of 3,300,521,000 square yards, which was 17.3 percent higher than 1955.

In the meantime, exports of cotton yarn during the last quarter of 1956 rose by 18.7 percent to 6,468,000lb. against the corresponding figure for the previous quarter. During the same period, cotton

textiles also saw a substantial rise of 47.9 percent in their exports to total 381,567,000 square yards. Thus, the total exports of both cotton yarn and textiles in 1956 reached 27,294,000lb. and 1,262,063,000 square yards, respectively. The exports of cotton textiles last year was the second post-war high only next to 1954. A post-war high was also reached in exports of secondary cotton textile products with 69,281,000lb.

Cotton goods delivered to the domestic market during the last three months of 1956 reached a high level of 168,717,000lb., and consequently the total delivery for home consumption in 1956 hit a post-war high of 645,152,000lb.

Exports of cotton yarn and textiles during January this year somewhat dropped from the corresponding month of last year. But, the Association estimates that the average export of the products for the first three months of this year will be around 100 million square yards. Should the business conditions be kept flourishing, cotton products for domestic consumption for the January-March period of this year are expected to overtop the monthly average of some 112,000 bales recorded for the corresponding months of last year. Production of cotton yarn during the same period is estimated to average around 225,000 bales a month, says the Bank of Tokyo report.

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Indian Aluminium-Producing Units

Inaugurating the first meeting of the recently constituted Development Council for Non-Ferrous Metals, India's Minister for Heavy Industries, Mr. Manubhai Shah, said in New Delhi that the National Industrial Development Corporation, a Government body, has decided to establish an aluminium plant at Mettur (Madras State) with a capacity of 10,000 tons a year.

He said the proposal to establish an aluminium plant of the same capacity at Hirakud had already been sanctioned by the Government of India. With expansion of existing units and these two additional smelters the country would annually produce about 30,000 tons of aluminium during the Second Plan period. In addition, planning of an aluminium plant in the Rihand area of Uta-Pradesh had been taken in hand.

Newsprint Factory in India

The National Industrial Development Corporation is going to put up a newsprint factory at Shakarnagar (Hyderabad) with an annual capacity of 30,000 tons. Other steps are being taken to create additional capacity to meet the country's requirements of newsprint. Madhya Pradesh produced 3,055 tons of newsprint during 1955-56.

Mr. Pillai's Appointment

Mr. N. R. Pillai, ICS, Secretary-General, Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, has been appointed Director of Hindustan Machine Tools (Private) Limited, Jalahalli, Bangalore, and Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Company.

Increase in Hong Kong-Indonesian Trade

The Director of the Hong Kong Chamber of Commerce and Industry has said that both imports and exports between Indonesia and Hong Kong during 1956 were higher than during the previous year. A rise in Hong Kong imports amounting to 30 million Hong Kong dollars was mainly due to larger quantities of mineral fuel. The main goods constituting the 308 million dollars increase in exports to Indonesia were textile yarns and piece goods, clothing base metals and non-electrical machinery.

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The Director General, Supplies and Disposals (Disposals Wing), Shahjahan Road, New Delhi, India, invites tenders for the purchase and removal of the following stores:—

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The Director General,
India Store Department,
Government Building,
Bromyard Avenue,
London, W.3.

The tender must be accompanied by an earnest money deposit of 10% of the quotations in the form of Deposit-at-call receipt in sterling in the name of the "High Commissioner for India."

Applications should be marked for the attention of CDN Branch, quoting reference S.3075/56/Mis.6.

Tenders are returnable direct to India at the above address so as to reach there in time not later than 2.30 p.m. on Wednesday, the 3rd April, 1957.

The Director General, India Store Department, Government Buildings, Bromyard Avenue, Acton, London W.3., invites tenders for the supply of:—

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The Director General, India Store Department (Mis. 1), Government Building, Bromyard Avenue, London W.3., invites tenders for the supply of:—

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The Director General, India Store Department (Mis.2) Government Building, Bromyard Avenue, London, W.3., invites tenders for the supply of:—

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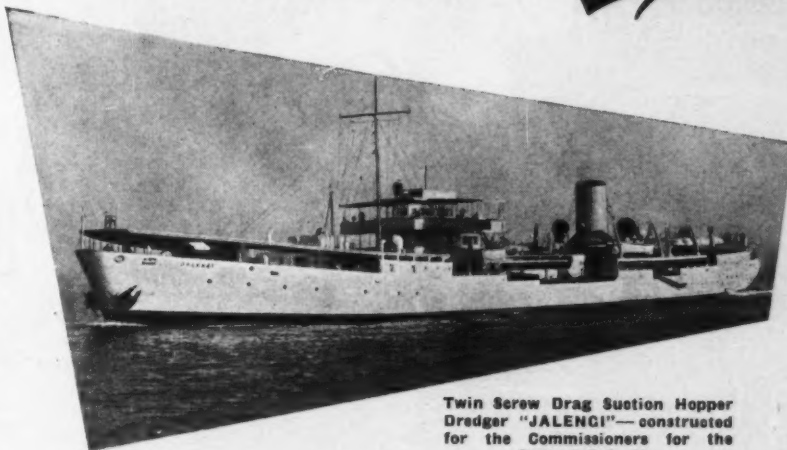
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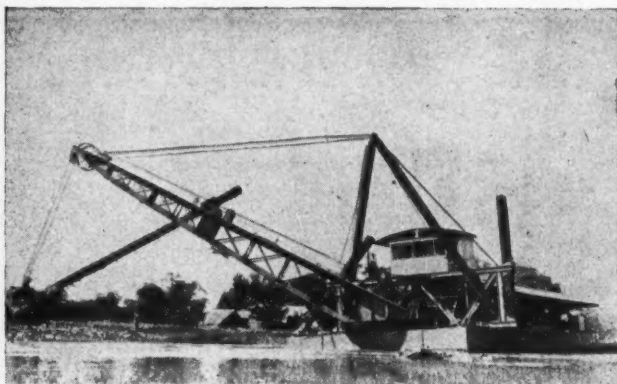
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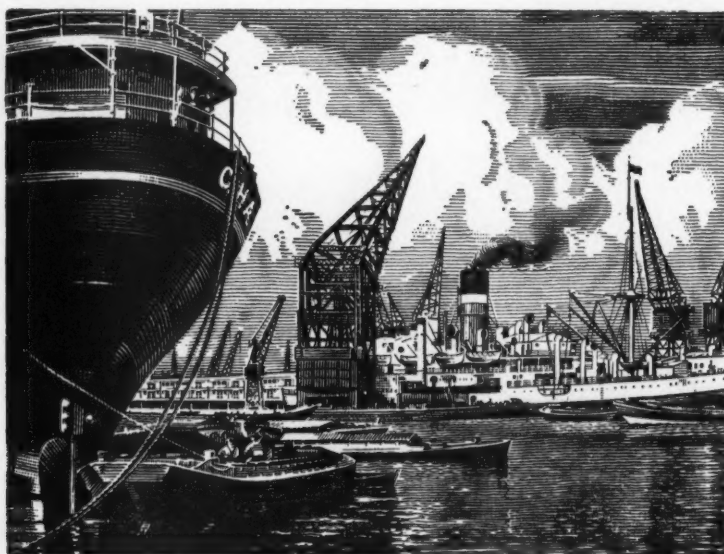
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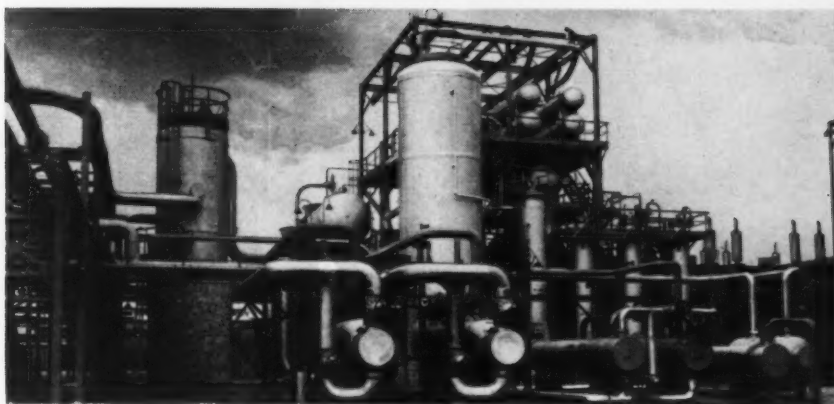
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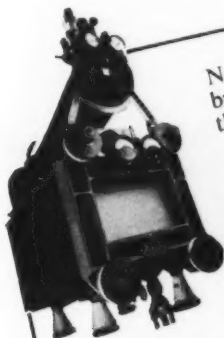


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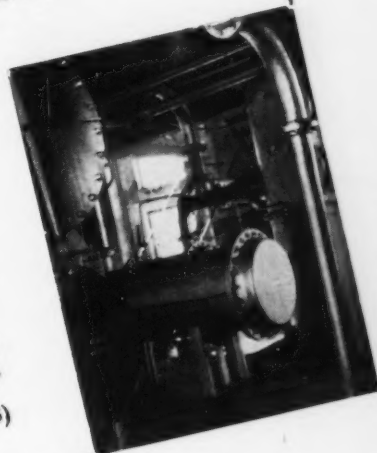
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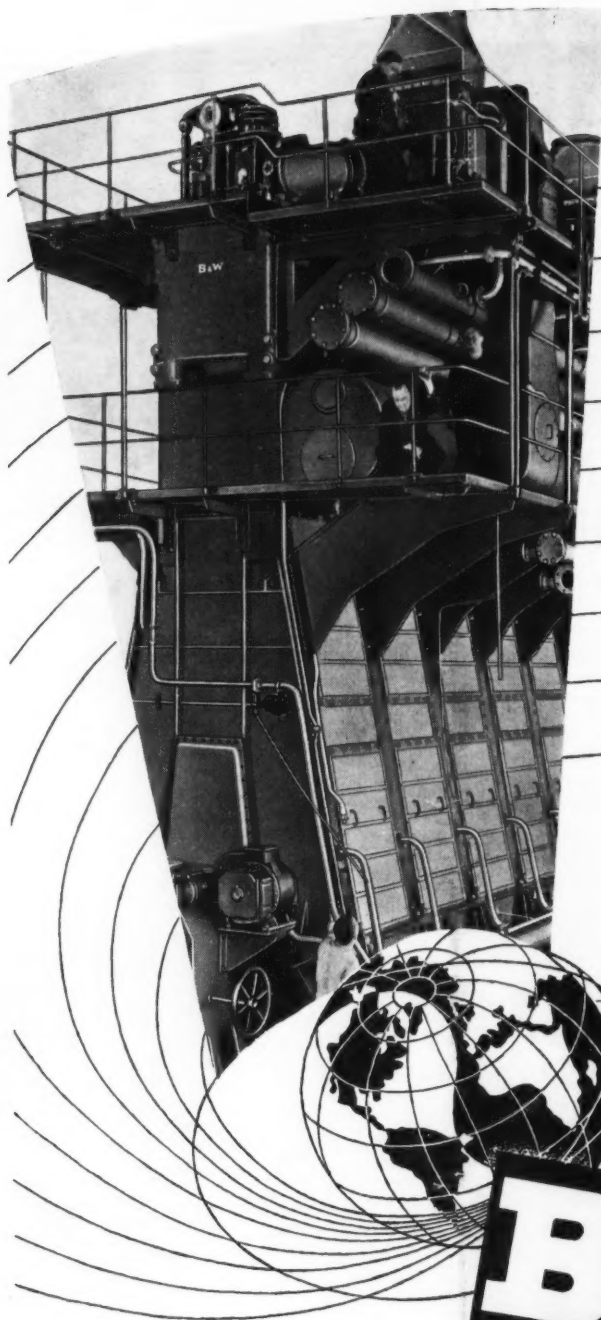
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